

PEACE NEWS

No. 153.

LONDON, FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1939

2d.

HOW EVERY ONE OF US CAN WORK FOR PEACE

A Handbook of Real "National Service"

CONSTRUCTIVE ALTERNATIVES TO RE-ARMAMENT AND WAR

WHILE the campaign against conscription continues unabated throughout the country, the Peace Pledge Union has taken the initiative in launching constructive proposals for real peace service to the community and the world.

The proposals are contained in a new publication, the *Peace Service Handbook*, thousands of copies of which have already been distributed throughout the country.

A copy has already been sent to Mr. Ernest Brown, Minister of Labour, who is piloting the Military Training Bill through the House of Commons.

The Peace Pledge Union is planning an intensive and nation-wide campaign for the broadcasting of the booklet, which, selling at a penny, is within the reach of the poorest. It has been priced at 1d. so that individuals can buy several copies to pass on to their friends.

The Handbook is an effective reply to the Government's National Service pamphlet, and suggests "some of the ways by which the people of Britain can help their country and the world to live at peace." It should be read by everyone who wishes to work for peace rather than to prepare for war.

See "What are you going to do about it?"—page 6.

"THE citizens of this country are being asked to take part in a scheme which, it is frankly stated, is one to make us ready for war." "Our ideals are safe from everything except the attempt to defend them by the wrong means."

That is the opening sentence in the *Peace Service Handbook*, the introduction to which puts the choice of National Service for War or international service for peace.

It shows that armaments and preparation for war cannot bring peace.

"We are told that we must preserve for ourselves and for our children the essentials of democracy, our freedom, and our ideals"; but "the real threat to all these things comes from within rather than from without."

It's Up To You

After examining briefly the causes of war, and the changes necessary to remove them, the Handbook shows that "if a public opinion is to be created which will make such far-reaching changes possible, every individual must be ready to make as great sacrifices for peace as for war and to render real service."

"If that service is not to be ineffective the old discredited method of war must be renounced. We must find a new equivalent for the sacrifice of time and energy demanded of Territorials, Air Wardens, and all who are preparing for the worst." The Handbook urges *you* to "do more than hope for peace—prepare for it—not by signing on for war preparation—but by renouncing war." The individual's responsibility is stressed throughout.

A Call to Women

Special appeals are made to women and to youth.

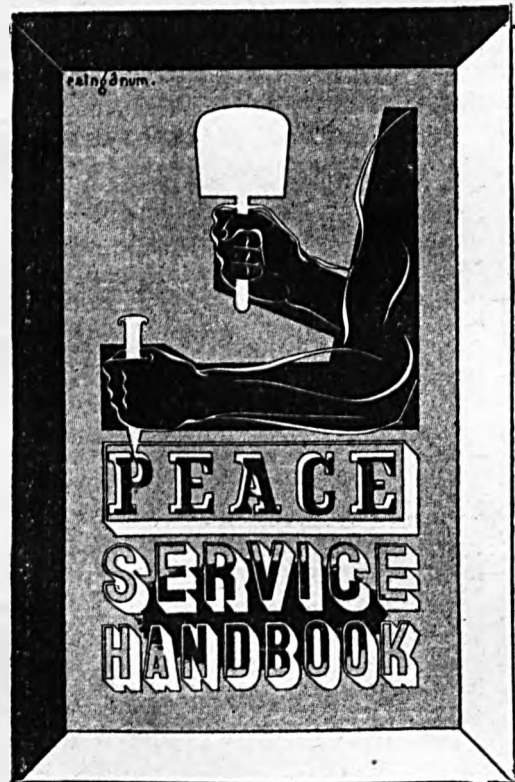
"Women, as the natural guardians of children, have a special responsibility for the future. It is their nature to protect the lives of children: children to them are the future of human kind, whatever their colour or nationality."

"If national leaders cannot find ways which do not demand the sacrifice of children to the god of war, then women must."

And as for youth, "with it lies the choice between peace and war. The young are the innovators; if we are to have not only saner ideas, but also saner practice, then youth must help."

In the list of activities that follows youth will certainly find ample scope.

The list does not claim to be all-inclusive, "for, in the last analysis, peace service," (continued on back page)



The striking cover of the "Peace Service Handbook." It is in green and yellow.



Tomorrow is Empire Air Day, when some sixty stations of the Royal Air Force will be open to the public, and displays will be given by Britain's bombers and fighters. A more realistic view of the bomber's purpose than will be given at these displays is shown in this picture by D. L. Mays, of Chalfont St. Peter, entitled "FERTILITY—AND FUTILITY"

Convention to Plan Campaign Against Conscription Bill

A FOCAL point for the nation-wide opposition to conscription will be provided by a National Convention to be held by the No Conscription League in the Bermondsey Town Hall, Spa Road, London, S.E.16, on Sunday, June 4.

Among other news of the opposition aroused by the Military Training Bill which we publish this week the strong feeling in the churches is again prominent.

The purpose of the convention is described as "to organize a great united campaign of opposition." There will be two sessions, at 10.30 a.m. and 2.30 p.m., and at 7.30 p.m. there will be a public demonstration.

Speakers at the convention will include W. Ballantine, James H. Hudson, W. H. Morris, and Cecil H. Wilson, MP; and at the public demonstration in the evening: W. Ballantyne, Mrs. Lucy Middleton, the Rev. (continued on page 4)

ON OTHER PAGES

Rose Macaulay on "The Pacifist Dilemma" ...	4
Lord Ponsonby on "Diplomacy" ...	8
Wilfred Wellock on "Why I am a Pacifist" ...	6
Conscription Bill Amendments ...	2

The Conscription Bill Takes Shape

IMPORTANT MODIFICATIONS AFFECTING OBJECTORS

IMPORTANT modifications of the Military Training Bill insofar as it affects conscientious objectors were secured during the consideration of the Bill in Committee.

They included assurances of the civil character of the tribunals; the right of applicants to be represented by trade union officials; the allowance of travelling and subsistence expenses to witnesses as well as applicants; and the setting-up of a separate tribunal for Scotland.

The following is a digest of the amendments accepted by the Government to Clause 3, the clause which deals with conscientious objection.

Registration

Just as, under Clause 1 of the Bill, those who apply to be put on the Military Register must give particulars themselves, so now those who apply to be enrolled on the special register for conscientious objectors must themselves provide the information demanded.

Military Members Excluded from the Tribunals

By his silence when challenged by Mr. Maxton, the Minister of Labour conceded that none of the four ordinary members of the tribunals would be military men.

The Official Report records the incident thus:

MR. MAXTON: There is only one person of whom we know the nature, and he is the sheriff, a judicially-minded person. The other persons may be anything. They may be persons representing the Army as far as this House knows. I will sit down while the Minister kindly explains the position.

THE MINISTER OF LABOUR (MR. ERNEST BROWN): The whole procedure under this Bill is that in regard to this civil tribunal the Minister is responsible both for appointing the tribunal and for seeing that its decisions are carried out.

MR. MAXTON: I accept that as an assurance from the Minister, completely and adequately, that the four persons, in addition to the chairman, will not be military persons. There is nothing about that in the Bill or in the schedule, but we have now got it definitely defined by the assurance of the Minister given at the Dispatch Box, and I am very glad to have it. [An Hon. Member: "He has not given it."] I take his word for it. I am assuming that the Minister, like other Ministers, will regard the statement he has made as binding. I take it that the assurance includes those who do not represent the local Territorial associations; that they will be civilian persons in the fullest sense of the term.

MR. BROWN did not dissent from Mr. Maxton's interpretation of the assurance.

Later in the debate Mr. McGovern asked for a similar assurance by the Minister that the persons representing the Minister at Tribunals would not be military persons. Mr. Brown was again silent.

Objectors to have the same status of appeal as the Minister

An assurance was given by the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Mr. W. S. Morrison, which will remove one of the anomalies of the Bill as it first stood.

If an objector won his appeal before the tribunal, the Minister was entitled, without qualification, to appeal to the appellate tribunal to have the decision reversed. However, if the objector's appeal was dismissed unanimously by the local tribunal, he could only apply to the appellate tribunal with the consent either of the local tribunal or the appellate tribunal.

The Government, through Mr. Morrison, has now given the assurance that the objector and the Minister will have equal rights.

MR. MORRISON said: "I accept on behalf of the Government the principle that the applicant and the Minister should be given the same status as regards the right to appeal to the appellate tribunal."

Objectors may be represented by "a representative of any trade union to which they belong"

This was secured by the acceptance by the Minister of an amendment by Mr. D. R. Grenfell.

What is work of national importance?

Socialist members tried in vain to get the Minister to give a definition of "work of national importance," which the objector may be ordered to perform by the tribunal as a condition of his exemption from military service.

Mr. Brown replied:

"... this issue raises difficulties of a formidable character. It is for that reason that the Clause is drawn in a vague way, and the duty is placed on the tribunal, and not upon the Minister, of settling what is work of national importance. I cannot undertake to give a long schedule of what is or is not work of national importance."

"[we] have laid down general directions to the local tribunals in deciding what is or is not work of national importance with, of course, the right of appeal for the applicant if he thinks he is aggrieved."

Whatever it is, work of national importance will be civil in character

Mr. Reginald Sorensen received from the Minister an assurance that work of national importance would be "of a civil character and under civilian control."

MR. BROWN: "The amendment conforms to our intention, and I will accept it in principle; but the Committee will understand that when we look at it again, we may find it necessary to make some drafting alterations, while preserving the intention."

Conditions of service on work of national importance

Members asked many questions of the Minister on the conditions of service of those who are allotted, and agree, to do work of national importance.

Would they be taken away from their present occupations? What wages would be paid? Would they be guaranteed re-instatement in their old job if removed to some other for the period of service (this guarantee is given to militiamen)? These were the most important.

Relevant points from the Minister's replies:

The responsibility of finding a job of national importance lies both on the applicant and the tribunal, "but the duty is certainly on the tribunal to help."

If the applicant is at the time doing work of national importance (e.g., in some of the reserved occupations), "the common sense of it" would be to let him stay where he was.

MR. SANDYS: "Did I understand my right hon. Friend correctly that a tribunal would be able to fulfil paragraph (b) by merely telling the man to go on at his own job on full pay?"

MR. BROWN: "It might be in the national interest for that to be done."

WAGE RATES

Conservative members urged that there should be no difference between the rates of wages paid to militiamen and those doing work of national importance. Socialist members saw in this a move to create a source of cheap labour for factories and the land. Mr. Brown was quite categorical in his reply:

"If the question of wages is mentioned, I cannot imagine that in peace time however people may think about it, it will be possible to put a man in industry or agriculture on a different rate of wages from the normal wages for the industry."

REINSTATEMENT NOT REQUIRED

MR. T. WILLIAMS: "Are we to understand that after the person has been engaged on work of national importance... he will enjoy the same rights and privileges under Clause 6 as the person who enters the Service and performs his six months' training? Will he be entitled to claim the right of reinstatement in his previous occupation, and if he is not reinstated will the same fines and penalties against the employer apply in his case as would apply to the person who does his six months' military training?"

MR. BROWN: "The answer is no. The conscientious objector is enjoying a special liberty which is not enjoyed by the bulk of those in the class affected by the Bill, and we feel that this is a burden which he will really have to bear himself."

Tribunals may only indicate the class of work to be done, not the specific employer

Mr. Morrison accepted provisionally an amendment which will empower the tribunals only to order a man to perform "some class of work."

(continued on page 11)

Pacifist M.P.'s Part in Conscription Debate

From CECIL H. WILSON, MP

WHEN the Military Training Bill was debated on second reading it occupied fourteen hours of Parliamentary time, and it may be of interest to show how that time was allocated.

It should be remembered that the pacifist group in the House is a very small one and that the three-quarters of an hour taken by our speakers is out of all proportion to its numbers in the House of Commons.

There is however, another striking fact to which attention should be called, namely that Fred Messer, MP for South Tottenham, whom we desired should catch the Speaker's eye, rose some thirty times and spent twelve hours hoping to be called. Perhaps those who are disappointed with our supposed ineffectiveness will now have a greater appreciation of our efforts.

The following is the analysis of the speakers and of the time occupied:

Government	Front Bench	speakers took	2 1/2 hours
4 Labour Opposition	"	"	2 "
2 Liberal Opposition	"	"	1 1/2 "
2 Popular Front	"	"	1 "
1 I.L.P.	"	"	"
2 Pacifist Group	"	"	"
18 Government and Labour Opposition	speakers took	5 1/2 "	"
33		14 "	"

Please Be a "Brick"

LAURENCE HOUSMAN suggested at the opening of Dick Sheppard House (the new headquarters of the Peace Pledge Union in Endsleigh Street, London), that each member of the PPU "be a brick" and help to pay for the house by sponsoring one of the 124,000 bricks of which it is built.

Up to Wednesday morning

5,719

bricks had been sponsored.

Was yours among them? If not, Mr. Frank B. Middleton, accountant of the PPU, will be happy to receive your donation at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

From the Editor's Notebook

War Office Ban on "Conscripts" Fleet Street Annoyed Some Topical Publications

HAVE you noticed that those who are to be called up under the Military Training Bill are rarely referred to in the press by Members of Parliament as "conscripts," but as "militiamen"? If not, it can only be because they are not as dutiful as the Government would like them to be.

For MAJOR BEITH (IAN HAY to you, no doubt), head of the publicity department of the War Office, recently sent a message to the Press Association and asked them to circulate it confidentially to all their clients—practically all the newspapers of any importance, nationally or locally, in the country. This message asked editors to use the word "militiamen" because of the distasteful associations attached to the word "conscript."

"What's in a name?" many will immediately ask, and as quickly point out that, to the older generation at any rate, "militiamen" has as bad an odour about it as "conscript"! Perhaps the idea is that a possible enemy may be more frightened or deceived by the thought of militiamen than by conscripts.

Fleet Street men, for the most part, not unnaturally regard this message as an impudent use of an official bureau. Most annoyance seems to have been caused in the *Daily Herald* office.

If the Government wishes this advice to be taken more sympathetically, it will have to issue it as one of its now famous (or infamous) D notices—or, better still, designate the word "conscript" an official secret. Even then MPs will not be entirely prevented from using unpleasantly truthful terms.

I AM told, by the way, by one who comes into close contact with the efforts of the War Office's publicity department, that IAN HAY has not proved a success as its chief.

It appears that he knows surprisingly little about a newspaper's needs. The result is that when it comes to giving Fleet Street information the usual departmental publicity staff is employed without reference to BEITH.

It will be interesting to see if the criticism of him that comes from the press will in due course officially reach those responsible for his appointment.

A Useful Leaflet

A LEAFLET that should be very useful just now (since "national service" is closely bound up with the conscription issue) consists of an extract from a letter from STUART MORRIS to *The Friend*. Headed "Service," it is an admirable summing up of "national service" as advocated by the Government, and it concludes by describing that kind of service as "a mockery of the Christian gospel" and urging that true service must be "more than national." It is published by the Northern Friends' Peace Board (Friends' Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane, Leeds 2) at 1s. 3d. per 100.

Another publication by a member of the PPU Central Council is RUTH FRY's new pamphlet called *Jupiter's Moons* (obtainable from her, at Thorpeness, Suffolk, at 1d.). It is a timely warning to pacifists and others who fail to bestir themselves on the ground that no-one cares about the little they can do or that it would make no difference to anyone. It is timely, too, in relating

this point to the question of national service.

Even more timely, I believe, is the subject on which the REV. HENRY CARTER will speak when he gives the eleventh Merittens Peace Lecture next week. It will be on "Liberty & Authority in the Modern World," and will be given in Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1, at 8 p.m. on Tuesday next and in the Friends' Meeting House, 6 Mount Street, Manchester, at 7.30 p.m. on Sunday (May 21).

Yet another Central Council member of whom I have news is MISS VERA BRITAIN, who has become the first president of the Children's Friendship League, the junior section of the International Friendship League. DR. MAUDE ROYDEN is among an imposing host of vice-presidents. The hon. secretary for overseas visitation and correspondence (an important part of the League's work) is Miss F. E. MOORE, of 40 Neville Road, Kersal, Salford 7.

How to Avoid Delay

I SUPPOSE the address at the head of these notes should really have been prefaced by "as from." For I am actually in the middle of a week's holiday.

Talking of the above address, by the way, will readers please make sure that they know it properly or have a proper note of it. Apart from the fact that letters frequently go to PPU headquarters, there seems to be a tendency to put NW, or W for the postal district. Errors, of course, mean delays.

H. S. M.

"Peace News" Offices
3, Blackstock Road,
London, N.4

Labour at its Own Funeral

NOW that conscription, to which Great Britain did not resort in the Great War until 1916, is a *fait accompli*, the leaders of the British Labour Party must feel as though they were assisting at their own, and labour's funeral. . . .

The Labour Party did not dare use the only weapon it had left, a demand for an election on the issue of conscription. It did not want to give Hitler any such aid and comfort. When I talked with Herbert Morrison in December I could see that he was far more preoccupied with stopping Hitler than he was with pushing social and industrial reforms in England. He was vague about what labour would do to limit arms profiteering. . . .

If war should come, and even if England and France should win in the end, democracy will hardly have been saved. . . . It goes without proving that England and France—and this country if we are so insane as to go to war—will get such a post-war depression as to make the early thirties look like a picnic party. An easy way will be prepared for another Mosley, Doriol, or Huey Long; or, as may be more likely, for the state itself with a large standing army, to put down discontented workers and the unemployed.

It takes no prescience to see that when labour abdicates its power, barriers against the rise of Fascism within a country crumble to the ground.

—Dorothy Dunbar Bromley in *New York Post*, April 28.

U.S. Pressure for Peace Negotiations

AT the instance of leaders of the American Peace Movement and of the Society of Friends in the United States, a statement bearing influential British and American signatures is being issued simultaneously from London and New York to follow up the Roosevelt message and the Hitler speech, and to press for further efforts to bring about peace negotiations.

"Although Mr. Roosevelt's suggestion has not been accepted as it stood," the statement says, "we are convinced that another and more determined effort must be made and a simple proposal put forward for a conference of the principal nations on equal terms to deal with grievances and bringing about disarmament. We would suggest a preliminary agreement for a standstill in re-armament programmes.

"We reiterate with all the power at our command that force of arms, as Mr. Chamberlain has told us, never can and never will solve any of the great international problems. We therefore urge the governments of the United States and Great Britain to continue their efforts untiringly to bring about a conference. Only by such means can the disaster of war be avoided and the world brought along the road to peace and security."

Pacifist "Recruits" 15 with Maiden Speech

NEWS received from Michael Young, Secretary of the Wellington Branch of the New Zealand Peace Pledge Union, should put fresh heart into any British pacifists who feel in need of encouragement.

Mr. Young recently went to New Plymouth, a provincial town 250 miles from Wellington, and addressed a public meeting arranged by the one person in the town he knew to be a pacifist.

Though it was Mr. Young's first public speech, after the meeting fifteen people signed the Peace Pledge and formed a branch of the New Zealand PPU.

Several other public meetings have since been held, and the Wellington branch holds regular street meetings. All the money it can raise is being spent on propaganda.

Newspapers in New Zealand are "closing down" on pacifist correspondence, and on reports of PPU meetings; several magazines, however, have published letters.

International Conference for Peace

The Directing Committee of the International Peace Bureau, whose headquarters are at Geneva, announces that the 33rd Universal Peace Congress is to be held at Zurich from August 21 to 27.

PRINTING and PUBLICITY

W. J. FOWLER & SON, LTD.

245-7, CRICKLEWOOD BROADWAY, LONDON, N.W.2.

Telephone: GLAdstone 1234.

100% Members Peace Pledge Union.

Plan for an Unarmed World Federation

Democratic, Non-Military and All-Inclusive: American Scheme

LORD LOTHIAN, the new British Ambassador to the United States, recently advocated a federal union of free nations as the only principle which would end war, and as a possible nucleus of a true world government.

Though his was but one of a number of such proposals made recently on both sides of the Atlantic, it lends particular interest to three points put forward by the American Campaign for World Government as the fundamental characteristics essential to any workable federation. These three points are:

1. Its own structure must be democratic;
2. It must be non-military; and
3. It must be all-inclusive.

The second point is of particular importance in view of oft-repeated suggestions that any world federation would need its own armed forces. These suggestions are answered in the following explanation of the three points given in *World Federation Now*, official organ of the Campaign for World Government.

AT present the people of the world have very little to say about the relations between the nations which they actually constitute.

By those now charged with carrying on these relations, direct and independent election of policy-making officials in this field is still considered "not quite safe." Direct election of United States Senators was at first considered "not quite safe," either.

Need for Democracy

Today foreign offices are merely departments of the various national executives. They sometimes proceed in direct contradiction to the popular will, which is unable to reach them except by sacrificing along with them highly desirable internal policies and programmes.

Even where there is no wilful flouting of public opinion, a confusion is created in the public mind by the lack of any separate and independent popular control over foreign policy.

By providing for the direct election of World Legislature delegations large enough to represent minority as well as majority opinions and free to combine across national boundaries, the World Federation will give to international arrangements a popular sanction which no treaty or covenant can now possess.

At the same time the people will become informed on international problems through the debates of delegates seeking re-election.

Arms Not Required

Experience shows that independent States will not consent to set up an international police force that may possibly invade their own territory.

The chief previous justification for arming federations of States has been defence from outside dangers. But, with the whole world federated, there will be no outside danger.

Under a world federation, there should be no attempt to coerce member States as a whole, but world federal law can apply directly to individuals in certain fields where authority is delegated by the nations.

By means of tariff reductions, freer access to raw materials and many other benefits, membership in the World Federation will become so desirable that every nation will want to live up to all the requirements for retaining it.

All to be Invited

All nations are to be invited publicly to join the World Federation regardless of their internal plan of organization.

In order to qualify for membership they must observe one requirement only: they must follow the procedure for election of delegates prescribed by a preliminary committee of experts—a committee large or small, official or unofficial, as finances and politics permit.

Although the people in present "dictator nations," disgusted with the empty promises of justice broken for fifteen years following the World War, are intolerant of international co-operation as set up at present, there is some evidence that they will welcome the establishment of a true world federation providing for peaceful change with justice.

The message of the World Federation can be published in totalitarian States by high-power international broadcasting, by a volunteer flying corps to drop leaflets from airplanes, by the release of thousands of balloons carrying literature, by perforating a few words into money orders, cheques, and other postal matter from abroad, and by many other means worked out by scientific ingenuity.

A resolution was introduced into the Wisconsin Legislature recently asking the President of the United States to invite all the nations to send representatives to a world constitutional convention "which shall draw up a constitution for the all-inclusive, democratic, non-military Federation of Nations essential to the life of civilized man."

French Pacifists' Campaign

In several parts of France groups of pacifists have taken the initiative in leading a campaign against war preparations and in the speeding of a constructive plan for socializing abundance, that new social order so needed for peaceful settlement of international affairs.

This move is something new for the Pacifist Movement in France as up to now the programmes of the different pacifist organizations have been negative rather than positive.

NEWS FROM ABROAD

Settlement Hopes for Refugees in British Guiana

BRITISH GUIANA is not an ideal place for refugees from Middle Europe. This conclusion has been reached by the British Guiana Refugee Commission, appointed by the President of the United States Advisory Committee on Political Refugees at the request of the British Government.

The Commission states that while the territory could not be considered suitable for immediate large-scale settlement, it undoubtedly possesses potential possibilities that would fully justify the carrying out of a trial settlement project on a substantial enough scale that would make it possible to determine whether and how these potential possibilities could be realized.

The Commission therefore proposes early trial settlements of 3,000 to 5,000 carefully-chosen young men and women, which would cost about £600,000.

PREMIER'S STATEMENT

Points from a statement by the Premier in the House of Commons last Friday:

"The Government assumes that this experimental settlement will be financed from private sources, and that it will be carried out under the direction of experts appointed by the refugee organization which would be primarily responsible for it. The Government of British Guiana are, however, prepared to co-operate fully and to appoint such administrative officers as may be necessary. In addition the Government will make such arrangements as may be necessary in personnel and organization for co-operation on their part with the refugee authorities.

"The Government hopes that arrangements can be made to begin settlement in the autumn of this year.

"In the view of the Government, any prospect of large-scale settlement, which they hope may prove possible, must depend largely on the possibility of industrial development.

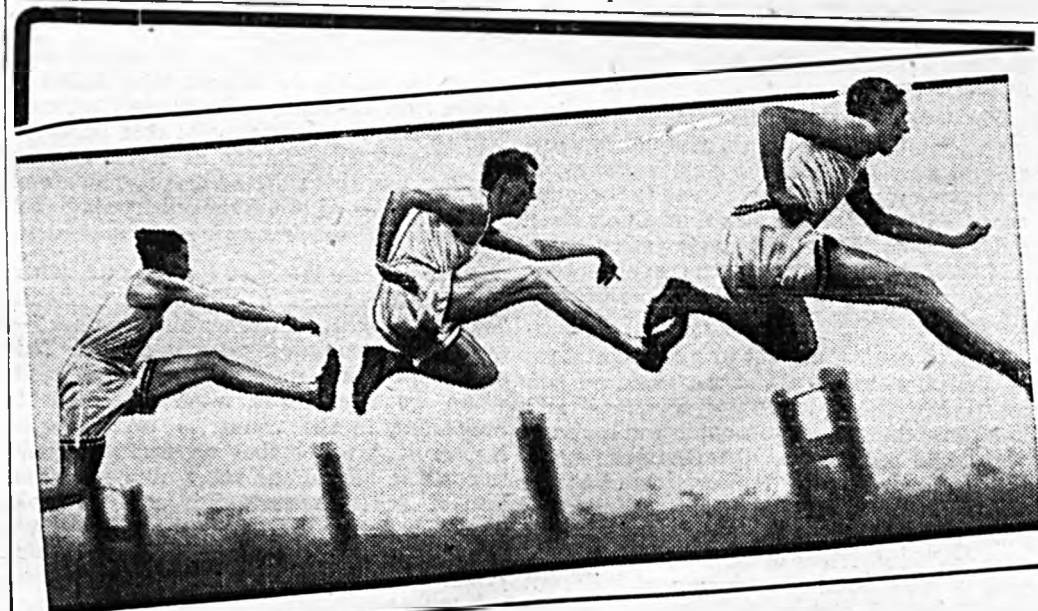
"They would urge, therefore, that further inquiries should be initiated at once with a view to determining the possibility of creating industrial employment for refugees either within the areas originally offered or in other suitable areas in the interior of the Colony, and they would give every facility for such a survey.

"In brief the Government would be prepared to facilitate the settlement of refugees over the whole of the interior of British Guiana in so far as it may prove practicable, the coastal belt being excluded because that area is already occupied and must be reserved for the needs of existing inhabitants."

American Women's "No" to War

Determined that there shall be no doubt as to their stand in these days of threatening war, members of the Women's Peace Union in America are each sending a peace pledge to the President, their Senators and Congressmen.

The Women's Peace Union is a national organization with widely scattered membership.



OVER and over again

TRADING at the Co-op. and buying C.W.S. productions there, is the one method of shopping that pays you over and over again, with divi on all your purchases. Just one more reason why intelligent, principle-proud people wanting the fullest value, shop at the Co-op. and insist upon getting

C.W.S. goods

ROSE MACAULAY

"Speaking Personally" on THE PACIFIST DILEMMA

A GERMAN pastor now in England because, as an outspoken Christian, he would be arrested and imprisoned in Germany, said to me that he was at times puzzled by English pacifists, some of whom appeared sometimes to feel more sympathy for oppressors than for oppressed.

"I think," he said, "that if your own government was doing to its own people and to the people of other races what the German Government is doing—or only a small part of these things—that pacifists would take a different line, they would not, I think, excuse it. Why do they make this difference because it is not their own government but the German Government?"

I said that I too had been sometimes puzzled by this, but that, in so far it was done, I thought it arose partly from muddled thinking and insufficient information about facts, partly from a kind of perversity, but most from a genuine desire to redress a balance and to see the point of view of potential opponents and to damp down hostile feeling.

He agreed. "But it has," he said, "a very odd effect sometimes, as if facts were stood on their heads to make a case (as in our German propaganda-literature and Nazi history books), or as if Christian spectators of the Roman games were to sympathize with Nero and the lions rather than with the victims. Quite unintentionally, it gives at times an effect of callousness. And yet your pacifists, and particularly your Quakers, give more generous practical help to the victims than almost any other section of people."

"Salt of the Earth"

I AGREED again. Not being a Quaker, I could say what I thought, that Quakers are the salt of the earth; if one form of religion had to be established over the world (which would be very dull except to unity-fanatics, and shocking bad Quakers most of us would make, too), I should vote unhesitatingly for Quakerism, with its magnificently generous human outlook and practical help.

Yet even Quakers, and other pacifists more, do at times, I think, give an impression of partiality on this Nazi business, of condoning or minimizing cruelty because those who practise it have, or think they have, territorial or economic grievances, and because the British and every other government have often behaved extremely badly themselves.

It is, of course, a great pity about nations and national feeling, and the more we can all ignore these arbitrary divisions and frontiers, the more philosophic and humane we should become; the distortions of foolish patriotism and those (less common, but not less distorted) of prejudiced partiality for other nations, would die together, and a nice objective view of humanity, irrespective of what race or government different sections of it belong to, would take the place of these untruthful and too often heated emotions.

THIS is the second of two articles by Rose Macaulay, the twenty-third contributor to our series "Speaking Personally"—a forum for the expression of individual opinions.

Next week will appear the first of three articles on

"PATRIOTISM AND PACIFISM" by the Rev. E. E. V. Collocott, President of the New South Wales branch of the Australian Peace Pledge Union.

Previous writers under the heading "Speaking Personally" have included Leonard Barnes, Lord Ponsonby, Middleton Murry, Max Plowman, Vera Brittain, and Laurence Housman.

WHAT a hope indeed! But it is perhaps worth turning every international and national situation the other way up in one's mind, imagining, say, that it was Great Britain which lost the war, its colonies, and some of its territories, and was horribly poor and humiliated for years after a vindictive peace treaty; that Great Britain wanted, and was determined to get, colonies and territories back, and a great deal more besides; that Great Britain identified herself with the ancient Holy Roman Empire which had suzerainty over half Europe once and dreamed of it again; that British rulers had evolved a new philosophy of militarism, terrorism, tyranny, persecution, and racial hate, had slain democracy, killed or imprisoned for life democrats, liberals, pacifists, clergy who criticized the régime, and Jews, with every circumstance of sadistic brutality; that they were educating children in the narrowest and most brutal ignorance and militarism and racial hatreds, filling a controlled press with furious and lying revilements, invading and annexing any small country near them and letting loose on it the terror and tragedy now raging in Bohemia.

Inapt Pacifist Comment

IT is worth while, I think, to imagine all this, and then to consider what one would say of one's government so engaged (until one's mouth was forcibly stopped) and to think and say the same, no better and no worse, of the German or any other government similarly employed. Frankly, I do not find pacifist comment on the cruelty now raging in Europe always apt. And, from pacifists of all people, it surely should be.

Occasionally, when reading some letters in *Peace News*, I (and others) half think we have got hold of the *Blackshirt* by mistake. Someone, for instance, writes this week that it was this country that broke the Munich Pact which ceded Sudetenland to Germany and rearranged the Czech frontiers, with pledges to observe them and to respect what was left of Czechoslovakian integrity.

I do not know what was in the writer's mind, but surely he cannot have failed to notice the German invasion and annexation of this hapless republic that occurred last March, in defiance of Herr Hitler's pledged word, even if he was not aware of the violations of the arranged frontier that were part of the immediate occupation.

Someone else lately suggested that, when Herr Hitler steals a country, we should "run after him and offer him another"—presumably complete with livestock. This seems pacifism inverted and run mad; when we look for a minute at what is happening in the countries taken under Nazi rule, we see that no pacifist should tolerate it. Read the story of the occupation of Bohemia, as told in a vivid book, *Lost Liberty?* published last week by two eye-witnesses, Joan and Jonathan Griffin (Chatto & Windus). An occupation carried out with every detail of mean and vindictive cruelty against helpless and non-resisting political and racial victims; the Gestapo turned loose among the Slavs and democrats whom Hitler hates, to shoot or imprison all the bravest, most liberal and most civilized among them, robbing them of the visas and permits which would have enabled them to escape, shutting them in concentration camps never to be heard of again.

The Czech Rape

THE most hardened Minister in Downing Street, one would think, could scarcely read without emotion Dr. Benes's own account of his country's rape, broadcast in America last March, and printed in this book.

"Might has occupied a free country and subjugated a free people. Those who might fight for their liberty have been thrown

The Question :

"FACED on one side with a régime more brutal than any we have had in Europe since Alva and his Spanish torturers held the Netherlands down, on the other with a horrible and inhuman war (which our Government would not wage to save the Czechs, but would to save our own empire), what is the pacifist to feel or do?"

"What attitude is possible that shall be neither callous, bellicose nor silly? Or rather, that shall be as little of all three as is humanly possible in a callous, bellicose and silly world?"

into concentration camps by an invader. The invader has taken all the wealth, property, industry, raw materials, gold and monies which the efforts of 15,000,000 people have created in the last twenty years. . . . They have suddenly been robbed of everything they held most dear, and this crime has been committed as part of a carefully prepared programme, just as a common criminal plans for the robbery of an individual.

"The crime is committed by several hundred thousand soldiers, with hundreds of airplanes and tanks. And this tragedy occurs in time of peace and without provocation or cause. . . . For ten centuries, from the time of the Good King St. Wenceslas, this small nation has been obliged to fight for its existence, for its liberty, and during the last century for democracy. By the middle of the 17th century their national State was annihilated. . . . For three centuries they were under the yoke of the Germans and the Magyars. The last war liberated them. . . . Czechoslovakia was known as the asylum for free people. There were no persecutions of any kind. . . ."

After its sacrifice last September, "one of those Powers which signed the Munich pact . . . has now brutally broken all its pledges and obligations, has invaded . . . has imposed its régime of terror, of secret police, of racial and religious persecution, of concentration camps, of complete suppression of free press and free speech, of brutality and inhumanity—and that Power has declared that all this is done in the name of peace in Europe. . . . But today there is no peace in Europe. . . . There is war on one side, and while one party makes

war, the other can merely look on. There will be no peace . . . until the principles of individual and international liberty are secured, and until courage takes command and requires that brute force must stop."

Caught in a Thicket

SO what? We know all this already, and see, at the moment, no way of stopping it; we are caught in a thicket, and can only look on at other people's martyrdom, because to make a war about it would be to make a more general inhumanity and bestiality, (neither would its results be certain: as Kingsley Martin wrote lately, "the last war gave us Nazis; what will the next war produce? Hyenas?") and Germany won't have a conference, and to offer her more lands and peoples is to spread the Nazi terror.

So what, indeed? Beyond personal and collective generosity to the victims (at which pacifists are particularly good) it seems to me to come down to a question of attitude. Faced on one side with a régime more brutal than any we have had in Europe since Alva and his Spanish torturers held the Netherlands down, on the other with a horrible and inhuman war (which our Government would not wage to save the Czechs, but would to save our own empire) what is the pacifist to feel or do? What attitude is possible that shall be neither callous, bellicose, nor silly? Or rather, that shall be as little of all three as is humanly possible in a callous, bellicose, and silly world?

It is, no doubt, because I am not a good pacifist that I cannot answer my own question.

Convention to Plan Campaign Against Conscription

(Continued from page 1)

Reginald Sorensen, MP, Fenner Brockway, and James H. Hudson.

Further particulars of the convention are obtainable from the No Conscription League at 17 Prescott Street, London, E.1.

A big rally against conscription will be held by the Youth Section of the NCL in Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, at 8 p.m., on Friday, May 19.

Petition to M.P.

Other news of the campaign against conscription:

Groups of the Peace Pledge Union in Wembley, Harrow, and Greenford took part in a three days' "lightning" campaign and secured 800 signatures to a petition to Sir Isadore Salmon, MP for the Harrow Division, asking him to oppose the Military Training Bill.

A meeting arranged by Colchester PPU group last week was attended by well over a hundred people and it was decided to form a joint committee, composed of members of the PPU, Fellowship of Reconciliation, and No Conscription League, to decide on further action.

A meeting held by Leicester pacifists adopted unanimously a resolution protesting against the Bill and expressing determination "to support those who resist on conscientious grounds any form of military service."

The best-attended meeting of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship yet held was that which considered the Military Training Bill recently. Opposition to the measure was expressed by the meeting, which agreed to support as far as possible those Christian pacifists directly affected.

The fellowship is also proposing to call a great meeting in Westminster with which will be associated a procession to Lambeth Palace. At the spring assembly of the Congregational

Union of England and Wales last week a resolution, adopted unanimously, urged upon "all the churches in its fellowship to do everything in their power to stand by the young men who are called away from civilian life to undertake military training, and equally to protect those who, on grounds of deep religious principles, are unable to join the military forces." It also urged the Government "to find for the latter such forms of service to the community as shall not violate personal convictions," and in every way to protect freedom of conscience.

Free Churches to Premier

Dr. Sidney Berry, speaking of a meeting between Mr. Chamberlain and six representatives of the Free Churches, told the Assembly that the Premier had been informed that if, by any slackness of organization, the position of conscientious objectors was not fully respected in the organizations set up to deal with them, the Free Churches would be on fire.

Congregationalists in Oxford University adopted a resolution declaring that "whilst we are prepared to obey the Will of God for us as British citizens, we cannot agree that the introduction of compulsory military service at this time is in accordance with that will."

Members of the Headgate Congregational Church, Colchester, adopted unanimously a resolution protesting vigorously against conscription and declaring that "peace can only be secured by good will and self-sacrifice in the spirit of the Master, and not by the threat or employment of force."

Uncompromising opposition to conscription was expressed by the members of Mount Pleasant Baptist Church, Nottingham, in a statement adopted last week.

A letter, signed by over thirty ministers and clergy, and sent to all the trades organizations in Northampton, asking that all who come under the Military Service Act shall receive their jobs back, contains a special plea for conscientious objectors.

From the industrial hub of England . . .

BIRMINGHAM

. . . comes this page of pacifist testimony

City Councillor for Selly Oak tells:

"WHY I AM A PACIFIST"

ON personal grounds: My conscience, my being, tells me that the taking of human life is wrong. I am forbidden to help in any organization which has for its object the killing of my fellow beings.

This inner authority is supreme and cannot be over-ruled, coerced, or excused by any external authority of Church or State. War is anti-Christian. A Christian must not kill.

On the Ground of Realism: The Great War of 1914-18 caused the deaths of ten million soldiers—the flower of the world's manhood. War as a method of settling difficulties then had its greatest try-out.

Husbands, brothers, sons, sweethearts, died so that certain ideals might be achieved.

Did it prove to be the war that ended war?

Did it crush militarism?

Did it make the world safe for democracy?

Have the rights of small nations been safeguarded?

Did it produce the atmosphere and the conditions for the successful founding of a League of Nations, and the establishment of the reign of international justice?

Mars is a Liar!
Mars Must Go!

The Future—Idealism is Realism: Would the sacrifice of millions of young lives on the altars of the Maginot and Siegfried lines give any assurance that the problems of Europe and of the world would thereby be finally solved?

Is it likely that the human race will progress through a bloody sea of mechanized mass murder?

Our pacifism cries "No! Come what may!"

ALFRED F. BRADBEE.

Socialist Factory Worker of Sparkhill:

BORN a "war-baby," I have grown up a socialist and it is upon socialism that my pacifism is primarily founded. I am a pacifist because:

Books, films, plays and other witnesses tell me that war is vile and inhuman;
Economics tell me that war is wasteful and unprofitable to the common people;
Biology tells me that war ensures the "slaughter of the fittest";

History tells me that war settles nothing;
Psychology tells me that war defeats its own ends;

Politics tell me that war crushes democracy and liberty;

Art tells me that war desecrates and destroys all that is best and beautiful;
And Christian ethics tell me that war is a sin against God and humanity.

Beatrice A. Phillips, Edgbaston Mother:

OUR mothers fought to establish the equality of women as citizens.

They won the first part of the contest for us but very many women are not following their valiant lead. The habit of leaning on one's men-folk dies hard.

Surely to oppose war is work which thousands of women should be eager to do, but most of them are still unwilling to accept any responsibility toward world problems.

We should not desire any man to fight for us, either to uphold the prestige of the British Empire or to establish peace on earth while we remain apathetic.

Women can retain their womanly qualities while taking their full and active part in the struggle of humanity.

See also

**Wilfred Wellock,
Leyton Richards,
& Herbert Whateley
on page 6**

In Birmingham, thriving arms-manufacturing city of the Midlands, 2,000 members of the Peace Pledge Union are carrying on their permeation of public opinion with the pacifist message. Tomorrow they will appear in force on the streets in a mass "Peace News" selling campaign. Some of them speak out here.

A PERMANENT PEACE



THE present situation in Europe is not less absurd than tragic.

Every well-informed person knows that the peoples everywhere desire to live in peace and that whether in France or England, Germany or Italy, the common people have a well founded horror of war. Yet at the same time the ruling classes are making every preparation for a great slaughter under the pretext of defence, and the rulers (who can always meet together personally) profess that they are striving with might and main to prevent their peoples from doing that which they do not want to do, namely murder and suicide.

The height of this absurdity was reached last September when four representatives of imperialism met together at Munich and, having made some secret agreement, each returned to his own country proclaiming himself the saviour of the peace which nobody threatened but themselves.

The people of Germany and Italy are forcibly prevented from expressing themselves and hearing the truth, but alas, in France and England they were almost equally deluded.

Meanwhile, these champions of peace are making frantic preparations for war and for the complete enslavement to militarism of those even who had some measure of freedom. Thus we see that fascism is international, and the question becomes urgent, how can the peoples save themselves?

The first step is clear. We must defeat conscription and by so doing send a message of good will to the people of other lands. This would weaken militarism everywhere.

But, in addition, we should work for the liberation of all colonial dependencies in our Empire—so that the example of Great Britain may no longer bolster up the imperialism of other nations.

Joseph Southall

[The above cartoon is from Mr. Southall's book, "Fables and Illustrations," published by the National Labour Press.]

GUNS BEFORE BUTTER: British Version

IN the financial year ending March 31, 1939, the total expenditure of the central government of Great Britain, including expenditure out of loans, was £1,068,000,000. Of this total, 63 per cent was spent on war preparations and on paying for past wars.

£
"Defence" Services—army, navy, air force, and "civil defence" cost 400,000,000
Interest on and repayment of the National Debt, all borrowed for war purposes, cost 230,000,000
War Pensions 40,000,000

The Chancellor of the Exchequer estimates that in the present year the expenditure on the "Defence" Services will be at least £594,000,000. Conscription and other developments in our military preparations will certainly considerably increase this amount.

£594,000,000 is 5s. each week for every man, woman, and child in Great Britain.

If we compare this figure with our total expenditure—from taxes, rates, and insurance contributions—on certain public social services we find that it is:

5 times our expenditure on education;
61 times our expenditure on old-age pensions, and widows' and orphans' pensions;
24 times our expenditure on housing subsidies.
In Britain we may not prefer guns to butter but we seem to prefer guns to smaller classes in our schools; adequate pensions for old people, and the provision of decent houses for all!

CONSTANCE BRAITHWAITE,

Social Study Lecturer at Birmingham University.

Ronald King, a Hall Green youth:

I HAVE experienced twenty years of life only, but it seems to me that there is no essential difference between people of different races and nations.

All try to be decent when they think about it, but at other times act on mental urges of fear for their own safety or profit. We all tend to avoid difficulties and seek security.

At present, these factors lead to huge arms used by nations to threaten each other. This situation can be ended if people will stop to consider the other chap's feelings before they act, and they ought to find them, as I have found, that a bit of good will, generosity, and understanding will work wonders.

I shall refuse to fight because it does no good—but only makes things worse.

Christopher B. Taylor, Edgbaston Business Man:

THIS country has a heavy responsibility for the present situation. We must condemn evil, that of our own actions as much as that of other nations.

Our policy should ensure that we are not the cause of offence in others and that we are above reproach in matters under our own control.

The friendship of other nations will not be won through armaments but by improving the standards of life for all mankind.

A well-known Psychologist says:

"LOGIC MADE ME A PACIFIST"

I HAVE become a pacifist through the logic of events.

During the last "war to end war" my first-aid post adjoined the fighting line. Today I am asked to establish it in the school to which we send our children to be educated in morals and citizenship. A road which has brought us to this must be the wrong road.

My psychological practice shows me human nature as it really is. I find that nature to be at the bottom kindly, loving, and co-operative, but that this is not evident in our social and political system owing to the presence of fear. From infancy to the grave fear haunts mankind and is the cause of distorted vision, cruelty, and injustice.

I find that like produces like, violence begets violence, trust produces confidence, and love dispels fear.

I see the world so closely knit by science that the Christian precept to love one another is now for the first time practical politics. As long as the world consisted of isolated units, Christianity could be no more than a way of life for individuals. Now that aeroplanes, wireless, and increased production have made us all neighbours and economically interdependent, Christianity has become a necessity.

I believe the goal of humanity is a spiritual one. Man must become increasingly self-conscious, and at the same time increasingly aware of other individuals.

I see war as the negation of all human values. Therefore I will have none of it.

(Dr.) R. MACDONALD LADELL.

Wilfrid E. Littleboy, Chartered Accountant:

I AM a pacifist because I believe that the method of overcoming evil with good is the only one which will achieve that abundant life which God desires for men. This was made clear in the life, teaching and death of Jesus Christ.

The events of the last 20 years confirm this conviction. Post-war bitterness produced a vindictive "peace" which, together with the lack of a generous spirit in the following years poisoned the atmosphere in which Hitler and his friends grew up. Now nations have no means ready to their hand except that of trying to overcome evil by evil.

During these years the recognition of the truth in pacifism has grown, witness the PPU and groups in all churches. Unfortunately, many who agree that "war is inconsistent with the life and teaching of Jesus" allow political considerations to take precedence over Christian loyalty.

I am a pacifist firstly because I regard it as a clear case of Christian loyalty; secondly, because I believe that the way of friendship, however difficult it may be, provides the one hope for international relationships.

Brian S. Filkin, Advertising Man:

YES—I'm a pacifist—and I like pacifism spelled with a "c"—not "ss."

I refuse to fight or free anyone else to fight because war is morally, hellishly wrong—and because no reason given for it can make it justifiable.

War has been proved by a weary history to settle nothing—it merely leaves the temper for future war. There are no half-measures; those who realize its utter folly and wickedness must stand completely aside. National Service and the like are the basis of militarization.

There is an International Voluntary Service for Peace, of which I am a member. That satisfies my idea of the spirit of service for youth.

Side by side with a dozen different nationalities. I have worked with pick and shovel. That breeds understanding—sweeps aside the barrier of race and creed—makes good-fellowship between all men.

C. H. Whiteley, Lecturer in Philosophy:

I AM a pacifist because nothing on earth is worth a war.

PEACE NEWS

Editorial, Publishing, and Advertisement Offices:

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4

Telephone: Stamford Hill 6157

Subscription Rates: Quarterly: 2s. 9d. Yearly: 10s. 6d.

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

What Are You Going To Do About It?

THE publication of the *Peace Service Handbook* will silence those remaining critics of the Peace Pledge Union who condemn it as merely a destructively critical body.

There was a time when this taunt may have been justified. Founded as we are on a negation—"War—We Say No!"—and having as our basic purpose the creation of a vast public opinion opposed to the use of war as an instrument of national policy, it was natural for us in our early propaganda to emphasize the evil and futility of war rather than the positive ways in which we could create the conditions for lasting peace. But those days are far off.

Positive Policy Desired

During the past two years there has been an intensive self-education within the Peace Pledge Union. A growing volume of literature, study circles, week-end schools and the like, and the Manifesto and World Conference campaigns, have been expressive of a general desire for a really positive counterpart to our indisputably valid denunciation of war.

Our recent preoccupation with opposition to Conscription, which I hope will be intensified, might have provoked the belief that we were once again relapsing into negation. This criticism is not uncommon within our ranks. And yet no one can deny that the menace of conscription has galvanized our movement into renewed and more vigorous activity, recalling the inspiring enthusiasm of the early days.

Surely there is ample room in a movement such as ours for disagreement of this kind? Our simple pledge is surely a guarantee that it should be so. Let us agree on the common resolution, never again to sanction or participate in war, and let us concede gladly to one another our own individual implications. For there is a vast field of divergence possible here.

We Sometimes Disagree

There are some of us who regard meat-eating as not only dietetically unwholesome, but morally repugnant. But I certainly see no connexion between my pacifist convictions and the poisoning of my system by animal proteins.

There are some of us, again, for whom the doctrine of non-resistance is Gospel, and to whom all wars are wrong. Let them listen to one of the most admired of our former Sponsors, Bertrand Russell, stating in *Which Way to Peace?* the limitations to which his pacifism was subject: "I am not a believer in the doctrine of non-resistance; I do not desire the abolition of the police; I do not hold that war is always and everywhere a crime."

It may well be that there will be similar differences of opinion over the proposals contained in the *Peace Service Handbook*.

Well, let there be! The *Handbook* is there for all to use who will: it is no *ex cathedra* utterance which must be accepted without question, and obeyed on pain of excommunication. Our movement is still big enough to include even the pacifist who opposes war just because he hates the sight of blood, side by side with the pacifist who is seeking to create the New Commonwealth.

Towards the New Society

And talking of the New Commonwealth. . . . We all know our limitations, part and parcel as we are of a society that is immoral, unjust and decadent, to prepare for its coming. But just as we all have decided the point at which we are contracting-out of the Old Society, so we must decide at what point we are contracting-in to the New. For it will be only by the general contracting-in of the mass of our people that the New Commonwealth will come into being.

The day is past when intelligent folk could believe that a spectacular victory at the polls for the Labour or any other reformist party is all that is required to inaugurate the new social order. Call it what you like—Socialism, Pacifism, the Kingdom of God on Earth—the new social order will only be born when there are enough socialists, pacifists or citizens of God on earth to give it being.

The importance of the *Peace Service Handbook* is that it indicates some of the ways in which such men are made.

Andrew Stewart

WHY I AM A PACIFIST

By **WILFRED WELLOCK**
of Quinton,
ex-M.P. for Stourbridge

I AM a Pacifist:

BECAUSE I believe that peace and friendliness, two of the most valuable qualities of civilized existence, are destroyed by war, and can be secured only by justice and generosity;

BECAUSE I know that the struggle for economic power is the primary cause of the aggression and the war ferment of today, the "have-not" Powers being determined to be equal with the imperialist Powers in the possession of economic monopoly;

BECAUSE I have come to realize that international co-operation and sharing is the law of peace and social survival henceforth, and that monopoly is the law of death and the gateway to destruction;

BECAUSE I realize that the streams of hatred which will follow the wholesale destruction of men, women and children, their homes and all the things men love, will so completely poison the minds of the survivors of an air war that life thereafter will be too terrible to contemplate;

BECAUSE the preparation for a modern war leads direct to *fascism*, the destruction of the very liberties we are supposed to be anxious to preserve. The rising cost of war preparation will soon enslave us all. Daily the people are being more completely drawn into the war machine. Now the iron hand of *conscription* is being laid upon us: soon it will grip the entire nation. *Fascism will follow in due course as certainly as night follows day.*

The £630,000,000 we are to spend this year on militarism will not increase friendship but destroy it, since it will help to swell the tide of fear which will ultimately burst into war.

Justice and co-operation are what the world needs, not bombing planes, battleships and battalions.

How the P.P.U. Began in Birmingham

By **HERBERT WHATLEY**
Chairman, Birmingham
P.P.U. Council

IT was two and a half years ago when first the Peace Pledge Union arrived in the Town Hall with our founder, "Dick" Sheppard, Aldous Huxley, George Lansbury, and several other Sponsors to address a meeting.

Never shall we forget that memorable day; the Hall was crowded, the basement (fitted with loud-speakers) was packed to capacity and even then the Central Hall had to be commandeered to hold an overflow meeting for a further 2,000.

Our members then numbered just over 1,000; today, the number of signatories is more than doubled. This membership is organized into 36 groups, with six district committees and a co-ordinating Central Council.

Our groups are solidly building up the movement and cultivating, week by week, that fellowship in a common faith which is the first essential to action. The range of our activities has covered not only regular group meetings, but larger public meetings, film shows, a peace exhibition, literature stalls, poster parades, mass street selling of *Peace News*, regular weekly sale of *Peace News* in streets, socials, open-air meetings in public parks, weekly dinner-hour meetings in the Bull Ring and, finally, the constant penetration of our speakers into other organizations.

We have also been instrumental in setting up the West Midland Area Committee for wider propaganda in rural districts; complete with our own portable loud-speaker unit we commenced another summer's campaign with a successful meeting at Worcester on Saturday, May 13.

To fulfil our honourable task of keeping the standard of truth flying in a world madly preparing for war, we are determined to stand by our principles, to stand by each other and, more immediately, to stand by our young comrades of twenty.

By the Rev. **LEYTON RICHARDS**

former Minister of Carr's Lane
Church, Birmingham

I AM a pacifist primarily because I am a Christian, or at least try to be one; for Christianity and war will not mix. No intellectual jugglery can reconcile the call to "love our enemies" with the methods of modern warfare.

The bomb, the bayonet, the blockade, and all the other abominations which the nations prepare against a day of reckoning cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be regarded as instruments of that stern and unyielding love which caused Jesus to withhold His hand from the sword and to suffer instead the indignity and cruelty of the Cross. Even in His final agony, His love for all men was unbroken; and because that was so, His life and death have inspired countless millions to make a similar response to aggressive evil.

He embraced the way of love not because He was weak but because he was strong, for in the depths of His soul He knew and declared that in so responding to human wrong-doing He was acting as God acts towards the violence of sinful men; and in God's world no other way can finally succeed in establishing God's kingdom or rule amid the things of earth.

That is my faith, and I can "do no other" than be true to it if I would be loyal to the things I most truly believe. As well try to dodge the law of gravitation as expect to reap spiritual or social or political good in defiance of God's way in Jesus Christ.

So I repudiate the way of war as a denial of my Christian faith; and I plead for the expression of Christ's way of unyielding love in political policy as the one and only way by which we can ever make peace secure or effective, either in the realm of international relationships or in that of economic and social activity. Christianity is the only practical politics, as it is also the only sound basis for a just economic system or a stable order of society.

Crime Now a Virtue

The whole world is wet with mutual blood; and murder, which in the case of an individual is admitted to be a crime, is called a virtue when it is committed wholesale. Impunity is claimed for the wicked deeds, not on the plea that they are guiltless, but because the cruelty is perpetrated on a grand scale.

Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage.
Epistle to Donatus, c.250.

Waste!

Waste of Muscle, waste of Brain,
Waste of Patience, waste of Pain,
Waste of Manhood, waste of Health,
Waste of Beauty, waste of Wealth,
Waste of Blood, and waste of Tears,
Waste of Youth's most precious years,
Waste of ways the Saints have trod,
Waste of Glory, waste of God—
War!

Rev. G. A. Studdert Kennedy ("Woodbine Willie").

He Began at Home

The following was written about Agricola, when he entered on his duties as Governor of Roman Britain, by Tacitus, his son-in-law:

Aware of the feelings of his province, and taught as well by experience elsewhere that nothing is really gained by fighting, if injustices are its sequel, he resolved to undermine the causes of war.

Beginning with himself and his own people, he first controlled his own house, a thing that to many is not less difficult than the ruling of a province.

Wise Sayings of Burleigh

He ever said of danger that our enemies shall do no more than God will suffer them; that war is soon kindled, but peace very hardly procured; that war is the curse and peace the blessing of God upon a nation; that a realm gaineth more by one year's peace than ten years' war.

Anon. *The Compleat Statesman*, c. 1600
(Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*).

BOOKS

The Origin and Evolution of Diplomacy

By LORD PONSONBY

Diplomacy. By Harold Nicolson. Home University Library. 5s.

WHATEVER may be said about Mr. Harold Nicolson's politics there can be no two opinions as to his singular talents as a writer. He is well equipped with knowledge and has a lucidity of style and a lightness of touch by which he can bring a difficult subject easily to the comprehension of a lay mind.

He analyses here the origins and evolution of the methods used for international intercourse in such a way as to give useful information to his general public on a subject about which for the most part they are profoundly ignorant.

He traces the changes from the earliest times in the methods adopted for one nation to speak to another. He shows the alterations and modifications made by national organization, the rise of democracy and the new methods of communication which man's ingenuity has invented. He claims on the whole that it has been progressive, and lays down this definition: "The progress of diplomatic theory has been from the narrow conception of exclusive tribal rights to the wider conception of inclusive common interests."

He hardly lays sufficient stress on the subtle yet unmistakable bias given to all negotiations between the great powers by competing imperialistic ambitions. But that perhaps should more properly come in a study of international politics. The Ambassador or Minister is after all no more than the mouthpiece of his Government.

President Wilson's Failure

In an interesting section Mr. Nicolson emphasizes the necessity of a negotiator representing the sovereign authority in his country, more especially if that country be under democratic rule, and he points to the failure of President Wilson at the Peace Conference of 1919, because he "was not fully representative of his own sovereign."

In referring to the rule established by the first Labour Government in 1924, that all treaties should lie on the table of the House for 21 days before ratification, the author forgets that this was repudiated by the subsequent Conservative Government. Nevertheless in the case of important treaties submission of them to Parliament is likely to be the usual practice.

A note might have been inserted to show that treaties for the most part are based on expediency and not on morality. Although if expedient morality can be invoked. A notable instance is the Belgian Treaty of 1839, which was the deciding factor in our entering the war in 1914.

In 1887, when war between France and

Germany seemed imminent, the 1839 treaty was forgotten and the inspired press declared "We shall not bar, as indeed we cannot bar the traversing of her (Belgium's) soil." The fact was that in 1887 we were on good terms with Germany and on strained terms with France. So "national honour" led us in the opposite direction.

Successful Diplomacy

The description of M. Paul Cambon as "one of the most successful diplomatists in modern history" is quite just. The way he enmeshed Sir Edward Grey, making him believe all the while he was perfectly free, was the high-water mark of astute diplomacy. M. Cambon used to pretend with no truth that he could neither speak nor understand English. At least one of our Foreign Secretaries almost came to grief from an incorrigible habit of insisting on airing his French.

Mr. Nicolson while agreeing that the part played by King Edward VII in international affairs has been much exaggerated, nevertheless overestimates it himself. He

says: "His experience was immense; his knowledge great; his tact unsurpassed." Admittedly he had some experience, but he never had any knowledge whatever. Neither was his tact unsurpassed, for there are many instances of its being at fault.

What was unsurpassed was his manner. Throughout his life he steered round many difficulties and embarrassments by his unflinching geniality and courtesy. He had a knack of picking up telling tags from others and dropping them in the course of conversation or whispering them in a confidential aside. This was very dangerous, because Ambassadors, Cabinet Ministers and the leading men of the day who were his guests were flattered and completely taken in. Consequently his reputation for wisdom grew, while all the time he was just a façade.

Have We Gone Back?

Perhaps more might have been said about the power of our so-called free press and the as yet not fully realized dangers of broadcasting. But Mr. Nicolson carries his readers to the end because he knows what he is talking about and seems to be confiding in them.

Yet one glances back in the early pages to the professional heralds whose qualifications as diplomatists were the possession "of a retentive memory and a very loud voice" and one wonders whether we have not gone back to that method of conducting intercourse between nations.

Privileged Narrator

Privileged Spectator. By Ethel Mannin. Jarrolds. 10s. 6d.

IN 1929 Ethel Mannin wrote a book entitled *Confessions and Impressions*. It was wholly readable and at times highly impassioned. It has since run through many editions and has been reprinted in the Penguin series, a certain indication of its popularity.

Two months after publication a first edition was presented to me by an enthusiastic friend. I was eighteen then. My friend, to whom the book had come as a Gospel, was two years younger. (I was always rather retarded in my development.)

Ten years have passed. I have changed, Ethel Mannin has changed, and both our estimates of that exuberant, post-adolescent, defiant testament have changed, too.

I have a sister, just turning nineteen. She is at the moment as perfervid an admirer of Ethel Mannin as I was then. It would seem that times may change but folk go on being very much the same. I confidently conclude that *Confessions and Impressions* will become a classic—for the round-about-twenties.

I hesitate to prophesy so significant a rôle in literature for what is called its "sequel," *Privileged Spectator*.

The book is formally in four parts, but really falls into three.

The first section is some 23 pages in length, is called "Introductory," and is an apologia for the hedonism of *Confessions and Impressions*. There are no withdrawals, only some substantial qualifications of opinions then expressed in the light of the ten years of experience that have passed since they were committed to print.

The third and last section is called "Conclusions," extends to 38 pages and is substantially opinionative, from a socialist-pacifist standpoint.

What of the bulk of the book, the remaining 255 pages?

It is, alas, simply a record of journeys made, rooms lived in, meals eaten, drinks imbibed, and people encountered, all very reminiscent of a Fitzpatrick travel talk. I could not advise anyone who was not intensely interested in Miss Mannin personally to wade through this. Indeed only a writer privileged by notoriety or celebrity could "get off with it."

The succession of similarities becomes tiresome even at the hands of so accomplished a writer, and not even an account of the Skeffington murder and an occasional light intermission by Reginald

Reynolds—who married Miss Mannin early this year—quite succeed in relieving the tedium.

I read this book for one reason. I have been impressed with all that Miss Mannin has given to the pacifist movement during the past year or so: sincerity, vitality and self-sacrifice. I wanted to see what the pacifist movement had given her. Well, I found my impressions of her pacifism obliterated by trivialia. Perhaps one day she will find the time to shake the wheat from the chaff and condense it into a pamphlet with *What Pacifism Means To Me*, or something equally suitable, for a title.

In short, this book will neither add to Miss Mannin's stature nor substantially detract from it. But it will, I think, of all her works—save possibly *The Road to Romance*, *Bruised Wings*, and *The Tinsel Eden*, on which I am prepared to accept her own judgment—least gratify her wide public.

But that it will sell I am confident. Indeed, it may sell so well that it will, like *Ragged Banners* and *Confessions and Impressions*, achieve promotion to Penguin status. I hope I may not be regarded as being too unkind if I say that it will then be more appropriately priced.

Andrew Stewart

Whitsun Peace School in Westerham

"Internationalism" will be the subject of a Whitsun weekend peace school to be held at Westerham Congregational Church from May 27 to 29. Canon Stuart Morris, chairman of the Peace Pledge Union, Gerry Cutcliffe, General Secretary of the International Friendship League, the Rev. Clifford Pickford, L. R. Aldous and Andrew Stewart will be among the speakers.

The programme will include an international sing-song, rambles, &c. Special arrangements have been made for those wishing to camp, for which the charge will be 10s. 6d. The charge for accommodation in town will be 17s. 6d.

The school has been organized by local groups of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, International Friendship League, League of Nations' Union and the Peace Pledge Union, and visitors will be welcomed during the weekend.

"Over the Hills"

The Spring number of *Over the Hills*, magazine of the Holiday Fellowship, contains a full report of the annual general meeting of the Fellowship held in Manchester in January, as well as comments on the meeting by Percy Redfern. The issue also includes articles on "Weekend Lecture Schools" and the "Grey Court" Experiment.

Our Fighting Fund—

and Other Ways to Help

WE are pleased to acknowledge the following contributions to the Peace News Fighting Fund:

	£	s.	d.
Previously acknowledged	..	..	21 7 4
Helen and Alison Cole	..	..	0 5 0
G. W. Ash, Southsea	..	..	0 5 0
Anon	..	..	0 1 0
O. E. Fox, Birkenhead	..	..	0 2 6
M. Barr, East Ham Central Hall group	..	..	0 10 0
S. C. Ramble-Deggs, Ewell	..	..	0 2 0
Mrs. I. M. T. Welle, Forest Hill	..	..	1 0 0
Mrs. M. Phelps, Highams Park	..	..	0 2 6
A. E. Prout, Hambledon	..	..	0 2 0
J. M. Parnell, Salhouse	..	..	0 2 6
An Incompetent seller	..	..	0 2 6
E. Carpenter, Highburn	..	..	0 2 0
A. E. Gibson, Co. Durham	..	..	0 2 6
Whitehead, Gateacre	..	..	0 5 0
T. R. Tregear, Winscombe	..	..	0 10 0
A. W. Lord, Oswaldtwistle	..	..	0 5 0
"Peace News" Seller, Sheffield	..	..	2 0 0
Dorothy M. Hanson	..	..	0 5 0
J. Fletcher, London, S.W.16	..	..	0 2 0
A. M. Franks, Wellingborough	..	..	0 10 0
"20 come July"	..	..	0 1 0
W. Lyon, Preston, Lancs.	..	..	0 2 6
M. Cherniavsky, Oxford	..	..	0 5 0
R. N. Irwin, Reigate	..	..	0 5 0
M. L. Pendered, Kettering	..	..	0 10 0
Anon, Cheshire	..	..	0 1 0
	£29	8	4

The Fighting Fund was launched to help to release for some other branch of the Peace Pledge Union's work the subsidy at present paid to *Peace News*. (This amounts to £750 for the current year.)

Donations of any size will be welcomed and acknowledged in *Peace News*. Cheques and postal orders should be made payable to Peace News, Ltd.—and not the Peace Pledge Union—and should be addressed to 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

A GOOD EXAMPLE

As we told last week, many readers are not confining their help to a contribution to the Fund. This week we have a report from the *Peace News* Circulation Committee in Bradford which is a good example of how steady work by groups can help to secure a larger circulation for the paper.

From December 10, 1938, to May 7, 1939, the committee's circulation campaign had the following results:

	Copies
21 weeks of street-selling on Saturday afternoons	727
Other avenues of sale (public meetings, outside Chapels on Sunday nights, &c.)	385
Total	1,112

The committee has also asked all Bradford PPU members to place standing orders with their newsagents for extra copies for display in the newsagents' shops together with *Peace News* posters.

SPECIMEN COPIES FREE

That's how groups, in particular, can help. Now for a way in which individual readers can also gain us a wider circulation: send us the name and address of anyone to whom it would be worth while sending a specimen copy of *Peace News* and we will do so.

Use the form below, and if you want to send more than one name and address please attach a separate sheet of paper.

To the Distribution Department,
"Peace News,"
3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

Please send a specimen copy of
"Peace News" to

Name

Address

(Signed)

Address

Date

MEAT EATING INVOLVES CRUELTY!

Why not try The Vegetarian Way?
Free literature, including Recipes, from
THE VEGETARIAN SOCIETY,
57, Princess Street, Manchester, 2

Read the

SOCIALIST CASE

AGAINST WAR in

"FORWARD"

Every Friday 2d.

HONEST, FEARLESS, INDEPENDENT

Send postcard for sample copy to:

26, Civic Street, Glasgow, C.4.

THOSE STRANGE YEARS

A Thriller of 1914-1918

By Theodora Wilson Wilson

(Daniel & Co., 2s. 6d.)

"All sorts pass through these pages; patriots, pacifists, profiteers, and the stupidity of the whole business stands out in stark reality."

"Many will live over again the mental excitement and soul-struggle, as well as the thrill and excitement of that time."

—The Friend.
George Lansbury, M.P., hopes the book will "get into the hands of thousands of young people."

The Author gives (without fee) readings from her play *Across Yonder*, and *Those Strange Years*.—8 Glenloch Road, N.W.3.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Conscription in Peace and War

A.R.P.—Mr. Sorensen's Reply

IN regard to conscription, may I make just one point? What possible steps we might take in the event of war should have nothing whatever to do with our attitude to conscription now.

If war breaks out, we might evacuate children or do ambulance work. We certainly should continue to preach and act pacifism. But that does not seem any reason for accepting alternative service under conscription now.

A benevolent Government has given us an opportunity to show our true colours—and if we are real pacifists then we should be sure that the life that we are now leading is "work of national importance" in its good and peaceful sense. On these grounds I call on every young man to stand firm for absolute exemption.

My own argument before a tribunal would be a simple one: "I stand for absolute exemption because I am a patriotic pacifist. I'm not here because I personally refuse to kill so as to save my soul, but because I want my country and my countrymen to behave in a decent, human way to other people. I will not therefore support them in any way when they plan and prepare for the criminal madness that is war."

DAVID SPRECKLEY.

Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

General Election Scheme

We consider the present time is a unique opportunity to conduct a personal canvass of as many people as possible. It would be best to do this in the next two weeks while the Conscription Bill is in course of Parliamentary consideration.

Our Group is doing this on the basis of a General Election scheme in the district of St. Pancras, and we would welcome the help of canvassers during the next two weeks, either daytime or evening.

We consider the work of such vital importance and the probable result so invaluable that we make this appeal to all able and sympathetic people in London. Please ring Philip Saint, Holborn 4426.

On behalf of the St. Pancras and Holborn Group,

MAURICE ROWNTREE,
Group Leader.

Militarism in Schools

I AM sixteen, and, though not a member of the Peace Pledge Union, I would never support or sanction another war.

The public school at which I am being educated uses every form of moral persuasion to force its members to join the Officers' Training Corps: all of such persuasion I have resisted, because it is my firm conviction that nothing of any durable value can be achieved by force of arms.

I have been warned by headmaster, house-master and busbybody that if I persist in this attitude I am in danger of forfeiting the authority that I would gain in the natural course of events in the next two years.

I have been subjected to ridicule and censure, not only by those in authority, who should know better, but by my fellows, who have not had an opportunity to. I am now regarded as an amiable crank, who is willing to make unnecessary sacrifices for principles that constitute an ungentlemanly betrayal of the public school spirit.

Such a state of affairs is disastrous, but no less true. My case is not an isolated one. Such prejudices exist in almost every public school in this country, and must be combated by something stronger than the resistance of single individuals.

It is for this reason that I would urge active co-operation between those who find themselves in my position. It is only by co-operation that we can resist a menace which makes it impossible for the average schoolboy to put his trust in anything but an armed militarism.

We are the youth of Britain, and we must do all that is in our power to destroy the stranglehold that imperialism and prejudice have over our sentiments and ideals. I know how hard it is for one individual to resist this virtual compulsion, and I am sure that the path of the young pacifist would be made far easier if we, who believe in the power of non-violence, were

united by some bond stronger than our common faith.

The co-operation I advocate could be brought about by youth conferences, by a youth branch of the PPU, and by giving a wider publicity to the problem of pacifism in our schools. The realization of such ideals I leave to heads more suited to such a task than mine.

FRANCIS KING.

72 Redcliffe Gardens, S.W.10.

A definite plan for the formation of a PPU Youth Auxiliary will be put before the first meeting of the Council, and in the meantime David Spreckley (at Dick Sheppard House, 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1), would like to hear from (a) anybody with any suggestions, and, (b) any youth who has not joined the PPU in the normal way.—Ed.

"What Can We Do?"

In your May 12 issue, Miss J. Heftel suggests that pacifists organize a fund that will contribute toward the purchase of some of those food-stuffs (butter, fats, &c.) which it is known that Germany needs, and send them with a message of good will. Unless such a fund reached prodigious proportions I assume that the food-stuffs would be sent to individual Germans or families.

While agreeing that, theoretically, such a gesture is desirable, I would point out that such an action should not be contemplated without due precaution, and consideration of possible consequences.

My attention was recently called to the case of a Dutchman who sent, unprompted and spontaneously, a gift of butter to German friends. Nazi authorities, finding the package in the post, accused the addressee of complaining to friends abroad and criticizing the butlerless regime. A period in concentration camp for the German ensued, as a direct result of this present.

KATHLEEN MORLEY.

Thornwood, Ribblesdale Place, Barrowford, Nelson, Lancs.

Military Service Act

In your issue of May 5 Fred J. Murfin states that "The Military Service Act came into force on March 2, 1916, and affected all unmarried men aged 18 to 40 inclusive." I am assured that this is quite incorrect, and that it affected all men, married and single. If my information is correct it is important that you should correct so misleading a statement.

ETHEL MANNIN.

Oak Cottage, Burghley Road, London, S.W.19.

The first Military Service Act, of January 27, 1916, applied to unmarried men (or widowers without children dependent upon them) between 18 and 41; the second Act (May 25, 1916), brought in married men up to 41; and the third Act included all men up to 51.—Ed.

BOYCOTT — A PACIFIST METHOD?

I HAVE read Mr. Roy Walker's "answer from a pacifist point of view" to my article "To stop aggression—Boycott or War" very carefully and should like to make the following comments:

He asks me if I would not refuse to "rip open the stomachs of a working-class family of German men, women and children on the ground that other Germans were guilty of robbing with violence and would be deterred by my action from future depredations."

Of course, I should. And that is why I prefer boycott to war—if there has to be an alternative. I should naturally prefer no necessity for either. It is because war forces people to "rip open stomachs" and kill and destroy in other still more terrible ways, that we ask for something far less horrible, for I maintain that it is better to go hungry for a while (and heaven knows I do not belittle the ravages, the evil consequences, of malnutrition. I have seen far too much of it in Germany, in Vienna after the war, in our own euphemistically called "depressed areas") than to be dead or mutilated for ever, than to have our cities laid low and all we cherish most in art, in literature, in civilization destroyed.

Had Mr. Walker read more carefully our literature, which I sent him at his request, and from which he quotes part of the pledge our members give, he would have noticed that we nowhere demand a cessation of exports from this country to Germany (except the export of armaments and related things). As a matter of fact, Germany does not import foodstuffs in any quantity from us. If she did she could willingly have them in return for cash payment—not by barter arrangements—but her rulers tell us the German people prefer "guns to butter." That is why she wants not British goods but British currency, so that she can buy the raw materials she requires to provide the guns for her further aggression.

I take exception, too, to the implication that our League is calling for a boycott "against those whose only fault it was that they were born in the same country as the opponent." I emphatically stated we regretted that the innocent were involved with the guilty, but I cannot help pointing out that in Germany today, whatever may be the underground opposition, there is obviously a very big majority which willingly employs the sadistic cruelty enjoined by the rulers of that land and loudly applauds their aggressive policy.

Mr. Walker ends his article by stating that economic sanctions would probably provoke war because a people will usually "support a bad government of its own rather than submit to control by other nations." But our League has no wish to control any other nation. It merely wishes to prevent a nation which is attempting to destroy civilization from obtaining the means of carrying out its plans by depriving it of the wherewithal.

GERTRUDE LIEBEN.

30th April, '39.

Within the existing structure of society, it would be futile to urge a boycott of aggressor nations. International finance is so interwoven, and international trade so based upon reciprocity that such a step would have a severe economic effect upon the boycotting nations.

Leading industrial concerns in this country at least would have their vital interests so affected that distress and unemployment here would be greatly increased. The Government would be placed in such an intolerable position that the most desperate action might be expected.

Furthermore, the resentment felt in the

IN Peace News a month ago Miss Gertrude Lieben stated the case of the League for the Boycott of Aggressor Nations, to which a pacifist answer by Roy Walker appeared in the following issue.

We now publish Miss Lieben's reply to Roy Walker, together with some others. It has not been possible to publish these earlier owing to the heavy demands made on our space by the campaign against conscription.

aggressor nation, due to the burden of armaments costs having to be borne internally, would be countered by resentment in the boycotting nation, where it would be felt that the economic decline was due to steps forced upon it by the aggressor.

Such a state of affairs would only bring war nearer.

Even if the people of the aggressor State were gradually roused out of their apathy and determined to overthrow their government, the situation could hardly be saved. Such an awakening would obviously be delayed by an intensification of encirclement propaganda.

The aggressive government, having to choose between internal revolution or war, would naturally increase its campaign of hatred against the boycotting nations, and even if the bitterness aroused were only temporary, would seek the only way out of the dilemma which afforded, or appeared to afford, the slightest hope of saving their regime—war.

The decision, however, is not quite so easy as Mr. Roy Walker appears to suggest. By trading with an aggressor we are paying for its arms. So because it is held to be ethically wrong to strive to starve a people which is too weak to overthrow a villainous government, it seems we must be a party to the arms race.

CHARLES REED.

The plan of the boycott of aggressor nations as a means of stopping their warlike activities and preparations is a sound one and, in the conditions revealed in the article, I can see no reason why it should not succeed against Germany.

But, and this is the crux of the problem, the society or party that sponsors such a plan against the particular aggressive combination that we have in the world today must definitely envisage war as an all-too-possible consequence. Indeed, either the writer of the article is himself no pacifist or he could not have been responsible for the caption "To stop aggression: Boycott or War?" Boycott as a means of stopping aggression does not exclude war, and it certainly is no alternative to it.

It would be a powerful instrument in the hands of people with the League of Nations ideals, people, that is, who in the last resort are willing to face a war in defence of their ideals. For pacifists, however, who are opposed to war under any circumstances, the idea is not only ridiculous; it involves also a self-contradiction.

N. A. FADIPE.

People who advocate the boycotting of aggressor nations consider that this will prevent further aggression, yet it was the previous automatic boycott which made them so, therefore, who is to say that any further boycott, if this is possible, would not make the people more determined than ever to win through?

I THANK your correspondents for their courteous criticism and I must apologise for an unfortunate transposition of the words "negative" and "affirmative." My sentence after the questions I enumerated should be, of course, "If the answer is in the affirmative then present refusal to practise ARP is consistent." However, I gather the fundamental point of my observations was appreciated, although I wish to assure your correspondents and others that I have not been unfamiliar during the past twenty-five years with all the intricate pros and cons of pacifism!

The essential need is that we should recognise pacifists are bound to vary in their precise interpretation of the application of their faith and if one pacifist undertakes ARP work and another will not touch it, or one young man accepts alternative service and another determines to go to prison sooner than accept it, it does not follow that one is more conscientious than another, but simply that perceptions and judgments differ, as they are bound to do in a complex situation.

If pacifists are to bear effective witness two qualities at least are essential—clarity of thought and charity of spirit, and I am glad this is so widely appreciated.

REGINALD SORESENSEN.

38 Woodside Park Avenue, London, E.17.

The suppression of a people by any means will not make them submissive.

My conclusions are that this has been the most aggressive nation in the past; that acts of aggression at the present time are caused by the aggressor nations wanting essential raw materials or resources which they think are justly theirs; that any form of organized boycott is actually a form of aggression against the peoples of the nation which is boycotted, and will only tend to make them more aggressive; that the way to prevent aggression is to give justice to the nations who are sharing the 20 percent of essential minerals of the world. Without justice, aggression will continue and this will lead to war. Nobody can guess the results of a war, but it is certain that more will be lost by the "have" nations, than if they shared their 80 percent. So in the words of George Lansbury, "Let us share the world, not destroy it."

J. E. MARTIN.

"To do a great right do a little wrong,
And curb this cruel devil of his will."

THE plea for a boycott of Germany in order to prevent aggression—like Bassanio's plea against Shylock—sounds so reasonable on the surface, and even so humane, as involving, in Miss Lieben's words in *Peace News* of April 21, "far, far less suffering" than war, that peace-loving people, indignant at Nazi brutalities and fearful of the calamity of war, may be pardoned for supporting it when they are told it is the only alternative to war.

But is it the only alternative? Is it an alternative to war at all? Or does it add to the bitterness that leads to war?

With regard to the first question my contention is that Hitler can and will be overthrown—without war—by the German people and by them alone. The German people are suffering quite enough under his rule already to be completely disillusioned. I have had first-hand evidence since Easter of the state of feeling among civilians and soldiers alike which convinces me that Hitler only requires a very little more rope to hang himself—unless at the eleventh hour he is presented with the opportunity to rally the people even to his hated government under the threat of foreign attack, whether by arms or by economic boycott. The German people will save us from war yet, if we support and do not boycott them.

But even if this were not true, as I am convinced it is—if the Germans are all a "nation of aggressors," would a boycott prevent war?

Twenty years ago quite decent, kindly people were justifying the continued blockade of Germany after the War for much the same reasons as Miss Lieben uses to justify a boycott of Germany now. Good as their intentions in the main were—for many of them believed it the only way to force Germany to sign a peace treaty which they thought just and necessary—they were none the less horribly wrong, as the history of these twenty years has incontrovertibly shown. And the League for the Boycott of Aggressor Nations, with perhaps even better intentions and, as it may appear now, an even greater show of justice, are allowing their justifiable fear and indignation to swamp both their judgment and the better feelings of their hearts as well.

The Germany which was forced by the starvation of its children to sign the Treaty of Versailles has produced the Nazi State, and those children who cried in vain for milk now stand in arms, terrorizing their conquerors. Will the same policy, repeated, produce a different harvest in another twenty years, even if it is successful in averting war now?

SCOTT BAYLISS

It is literally impossible to publish all the letters we receive.

Other things being equal, letters of not more than 200 words stand the best chance of publication.

JOHN BARCLAY writes from Room 13: P.P.U. Summer Conference July 29—August 8

HAVE you booked your place at the Conference this year? It is going to be good and you will enjoy it, but only if we get your name in time, as there are a limited number of places available.

To give you some idea of the cost and the kind of programme we are planning, I have outlined below a few of the special features. If they attract you, send me a post-card at once asking for an application form.

Swanwick (1937) and Langham (1938) both proved successful and gave all those who came a really good time, as well as the chance of discussing vital problems facing the pacifist movement with those best able to help.

The inspiration of Swanwick is still the driving force behind many of us and we shall always remember the first PPU camp as one of the best holidays we ever spent. Last year at Langham we ran a smaller and more compact conference and once more gained tremendous impetus from the exchange of ideas and the fellowship of like-minded people from all parts of the country.

This year the Conference will be international and will last ten days.

Place: Pannal Ash College, Harrogate.

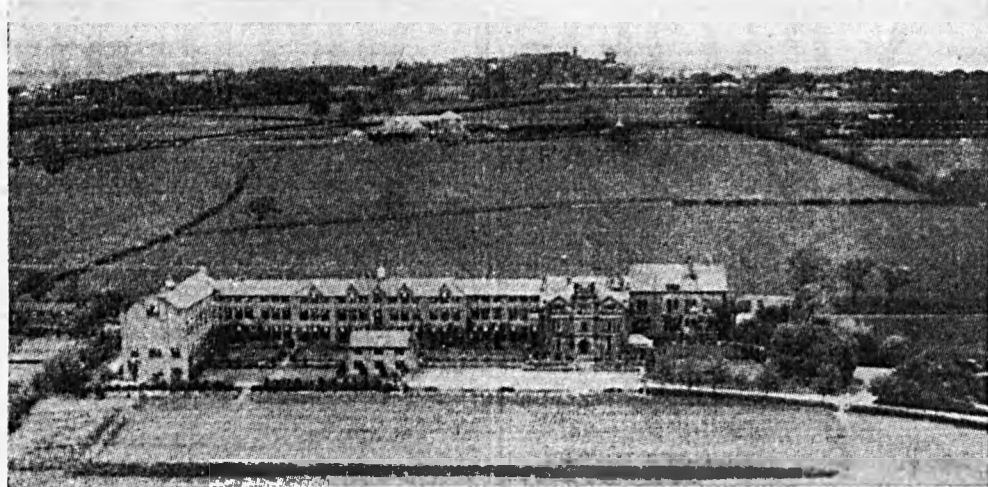
Cost: Ten days, 50s.; one week, 37s. 6d.; shorter periods than a week, 6s. per day.

Sleeping arrangements: There will be a certain number of single and double bedrooms, but the main accommodation will be in dormitories.

Camping sites: These can be arranged for and the cost will be as above, meals being taken altogether.

Conference: Lectures will be given between 10 o'clock and 12.30 every morning and discussion on the lectures will take place the same evening from 8 o'clock till 10.30. Afternoons will be free for walks, excursions, tennis, swimming, or cricket. There are eight tennis courts and a fine swimming bath on the premises.

As soon as possible the list of lectures will be announced in *Peace News*, but all those booking places will receive details in advance as well as timetables of train services from all parts of the country to Harrogate.



Pannal Ash College. An aerial view.

What the Groups are Doing

A HOUSE-TO-HOUSE propaganda campaign has been planned by the Blackpool group, which gained four new signatories during April and is persistently following up many "probables."

The group is also engaged in preparing open-air meetings on Blackpool sands for summer-time, for which permission will be sought from the police.

Members distributed the leaflet *The Warning* outside a cinema where the film of that name was being shown. One leaflet was handed to Blackpool's Mayor, who was on an official visit; he screwed it up and threw it away!

Crowded Swindon Meeting

THE pacifist answer to the present international situation was put forward by the Rev. W. Smith at a crowded meeting in Swindon.

Only by the abolition by Britain of her armed forces, he said, could we lead other nations to trust us. While this might rob Britain of material possessions it would not destroy the real spirit of her people, but would make her truly great in generations yet unborn.

Publicity Van in Somerset

THE PPU Publicity Van was at Severn Beach, near Bristol, for the first time on Sunday of last week, when the speakers were John Deacon, of Leicester, and W. J. Parkyn, and Owen Brown, of Bristol.

The meeting was held on the Fairground and there was a good gathering, members of the local Methodist Church being the first to assemble.

Replying to the inevitable challenge from a voice in the crowd, "What would you do with a man like Hitler?" Mr. Parkyn said, "By decent friendly agreements with the people of Germany and by disarmament we could undercut Fascism. It would be the severest blow to Hitler and Mussolini."

Activity in Plymouth

MEMBERS of the Plymouth group have distributed copies of a letter from the group to 150 ministers asking them: "Even if you do not yourself share their view, will you let all interested know that the PPU in Plymouth wants to hold out a hand of comradeship to them?"

Open-air meetings are being held on Sunday evenings in the Market Place. Last week over 300 listened attentively for over two hours.

During last week, also, 1,000 copies of *The*

Warning were distributed outside the Royal Cinema where the ARP film of that name was being shown.

Brentwood Debate Success

AT a recent meeting convened by the Brentwood branch a pacifist resolution that "The policy of the Peace Pledge Union is the only one likely to bring peace" was carried by 37 votes to 24. The resolution was debated with the local branch of the Labour Party.

Aylesbury Demonstrations

CHESHAM, Amersham, Wycombe, Aylesbury and Uxbridge members of the Society of Friends and local PPU and For groups combined to counter National Service drives in Aylesbury last week, and to advertise alternatives.

Their activities included the picketing of the Odeon, where a film and national recruiting "hook-up" had been arranged, a parade before the military procession, and the organization of a series of meetings in the Market Square addressed by speakers from London and Uxbridge.

Rivalry in Wellingborough

TERRITORIALS distributing recruiting leaflets to people leaving the Silver Cinema, Wellingborough, last week, where *The Warning* was being shown, found they had rivals—members of the Wellingborough branch of the PPU.

A member of the local PPU Committee, who was distributing leaflets along with other PPU members, told a local press reporter that "It is our intention to show that there is in this country a definite opposition to militarism and war."

Military Display Opposition

DURING the military display at Gold Hill Common, Chalfont St. Peter, recently, an unexpected item was the presence of about a dozen members of the PPU who paraded round the large crowd with pacifist posters, and distributed literature. Many people showed an interest in their point of view.

Liverpool Open-Air Meetings

JOINT open-air meetings sponsored by local groups have been held on the last two Saturday evenings at Croton Road, Liverpool 18, near to a busy shopping centre. In both cases a large crowd collected, and gave a good hearing to the speakers, Rev. Heady, Messrs. A. Ridley, F. Williams, and J. Lewis. These meetings will be continued regularly throughout the Summer.

New Group in Wales

A NEW group connected with Heddychwyr Cymru (the PPU in Wales) has been formed at Denbigh, North Wales, and a successful group

Under the Oak Tree

THE RETURN TO SPAIN

By Theo Wills

THE question uppermost in the minds of those immediately responsible for the care of Basque House is, at the moment, that of repatriation. On Sunday, May 21, some twenty of our children are due to return to Spain.

The decision to return them has been adopted very reluctantly. It was originally pressed upon us by the National Joint Committee for Spanish Relief, who warned us that if we did not send back every child who had any kind of chance in Spain our Home Office would in the event of this country being involved in war, take the matter out of our hands and send back all the children, without discrimination, including those who would have no chance at all. Whether this argument is true or not, it has had the effect of breaking down our resolve to hold a number of these children any longer, and Sunday's expedition is a result.

What are their prospects on return? It is difficult to determine. We have, since our colony began, sent back about fourteen of our children. Two of these have "disappeared," perhaps because they have "gone under," or perhaps merely because they have forgotten to write to us. The remainder appear to be doing not too badly. Their parents were of Nationalist sympathies, or had not been incriminatingly involved in politics, and had a means of livelihood.

In the case of those whom it is now proposed to send, it appears that, as to standard of living, they will be at least as well off as they were before the war. Their parents or parent have in many cases asked for their return, and will be able to support them, as also, the children will help to support themselves and their parents.

If the Government which had given them so many benefits and with which they were sympathetic, had triumphed, one would naturally feel happier about their return. That there is intolerance and oppression in the new Spain seems undeniable. Religious and political conformity is obligatory. But the country needs all the citizens it can get to help her rebuild herself, so that in the long run the children may be prized rather than persecuted. They are by no means all eager to go, but it may be best for them to do so.

This series, "Under the Oak Tree," is a weekly reminder of the Basque Children who are our proteges at Basque House, Langham, Colchester, Essex. All gifts in kind should be sent there.

Donations, in cash or by cheque, should be sent to the Basque Fund, Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. They will be most gratefully acknowledged.

See letter from Frank B. Middleton, page 11.

WALES HOLDS ITS ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Central Council Members Appointed

THE annual conference of the Peace Pledge Union in Wales (Heddychwyr Cymru) was held in Swansea last Saturday under the chairmanship of Mr. Richard Bishop.

It was reported by the retiring secretary, Mrs. A. E. Humphreys, that during 1938 the number of signatories increased from 10,000 to 10,500, and the number of groups from 15 to 60.

Canon Stuart Morris presented the PPU's manifesto on Conscription and told of his interview, along with other pacifist leaders, with the Minister of Labour.

A proposition, submitted by the North Wales Regional Conference, suggesting that North and South Wales should work separately yet co-ordinately was defeated by an overwhelming majority.

It was resolved that the Executive Committee should if necessary co-opt representatives of the Welsh Nationalist Party and the Independent Labour Party with a view to co-ordinating opposition to the conscription bill.

The following officials were appointed: President, Mr. G. L. M. Davies; vice-president, Lady Artemus Jones; chairman, Mr. Richard Bishop; vice-chairmen, Rev. R. J. Jones and Professor King; treasurer, Mrs. Dan Thomas; representatives for Council of PPU, London: Mr. George Davies and Lady Artemus Jones. Mrs. D. J. Lloyd was appointed secretary pro-tem.

A public meeting was held in the evening addressed by Canon Morris and Mr. George Davies with Mr. Richard Bishop in the chair.

University News

Cambridge Group Activity

THE Cambridge University group, in conjunction with the town group, held a meeting on Friday, May 5, addressed by H. Runham Brown, who spoke on the War Resisters' International.

Mr. Brown gave much interesting information on pacifist work going on in the sixty-eight countries which now contain groups of the International. An interesting discussion followed during which personal experiences as objectors during the War were related by the speaker and by members of the audience.

Great interest has been aroused during the week in the University by the posters exhibited in all colleges stating the pacifist attitude to conscription, and offering help to any conscientious objectors inside or outside the group.

The Notice Board

Items must be received by MONDAY.

Meetings

Peckham meetings will be held at 6 Summer Road, London, S.E.15 and not in the Friends' Meeting House, on Wednesdays, May 24 and 31. Commencing on Thursday (May 25) a series of meetings will be held on Hilly Fields (S.E. London) every Thursday from 8 to 9.30 p.m. addressed by Rev. Arnold Bellwood.

Poster Parades

Ewell, Epsom, Leatherhead and Dorking.—Saturday, May 20, at 3 p.m., from outside Vicarage, Ewell. Helpers, with cars if possible, welcomed at starting point or en route.—Write Kohler, Pathways, West Humble, Dorking or telephone Dorking 3098.

"Peace News" Sellers Wanted

Manor Park.—Mass selling tomorrow (Saturday). Meet at 53 York Road, Ilford, at 7 p.m., or later at Manor Park Broadway.

Sellers wanted every Sunday in connexion with Hyde Park stand. Full particulars from D. Hill, 127 Uxbridge Road, London W.12.

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION

6, ENDSLEIGH ST., LONDON, W.C.1.

"THINGS WE WANT YOU TO KNOW" May 19th 1939

THE FIRST HUNDRED THOUSAND

of

THE PEACE SERVICE HANDBOOK NOW READY
BUT DON'T BUY ONE—WHY?

BECAUSE IT IS REAL PEACE SERVICE TO BUY AND
DISTRIBUTE MORE THAN YOU CAN AFFORD

The Price is 1d. each; 9d. doz.; 6s. 100

(Postage 1d.) (Postage 6d.) (Postage 1s.)

The Peace Pledge Union strength must also be doubled
DO YOUR BIT FOR PEACE

POSTERS
ADVERTISING THE
HANDBOOK
WILL SHORTLY BE
AVAILABLE.
See later announcements.

A MAGNIFICENT
ILLUSTRATED POSTER
PEACE IN HIS TIME?
It depends on you NOW.
Price 3d.
Postage 1d.

Pacifist Deputation to Labour Minister

MR. ERNEST BROWN, Minister of Labour, received last week a deputation of prominent pacifists to discuss the administration of the Military Training Act, when passed, so far as it would affect conscientious objectors.

The deputation was from the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups. It was introduced by Mr. George Lansbury (President, Peace Pledge Union), and included Mr. Cecil H. Wilson, MP, Mr. T. Edmund Harvey, MP, Canon Stuart D. Morris (Chairman, Peace Pledge Union), Rev. Leyton Richards, Rev. James Fraser, Rev. Walter M. Long, Rev. C. Paul Gliddon, Rev. Leslie Keeble, Gerald Bailey, Stephen Thorne, and Percy W. Bartlett.

MINISTER'S STATEMENT

The deputation was received in a very friendly way and had the opportunity first of referring briefly to experience of the administration of the war-time Military Service Acts, and then put to the Minister a considerable number of quite concrete points concerning the probable position under the new Act of both absolutist and alternative conscientious objectors, Christian and non-Christian, as to the personnel, powers, and procedure of the tribunals, and as to the conditions of alternative service.

The Minister showed that he had the difficulties very much in mind and that he and the Government desired to do all they could to avoid persecution. He pointed out that the present Bill was designed to keep the matter in civil hands right up to the moment when the Minister of Labour called registered militiamen up for service and they became soldiers.

Mr. Brown undertook to give careful consideration while framing his regulations to the points raised by the deputation.

Pacifist Candidate at S. Wales By-Election?

IT is almost certain that pacifism will be the issue at the by-election at Caerphilly, caused by the death of Mr. Morgan Jones, MP.

The South Wales press takes the view that it is very unlikely that any but a South Wales Miners' Federation representative will be adopted as Labour candidate, and plans are being laid for an independent pacifist candidate to stand. There is considerable feeling among non-mining socialists in South Wales at the proportion of nominations already controlled by the South Wales Miners' Federation.

The proposal to put up a pacifist candidate has already been received with sympathy in many quarters, and it is hoped to announce more details next week.

Offers to help the campaign on behalf of a pacifist candidate will be welcomed by the Rev. T. R. King, Secretary of the Christian Pacifist Political Movement, 46 Worcester Road, London, E.17.

The late Member was a conscientious objector during the War. At the last election he received 24,846 votes, a majority of 17,108 over his Conservative opponent.

BASQUE FUND

To the Editor, "Peace News"

Stuart Morris recently invited such groups as were able to guarantee £2 towards reducing the deficit of £700 likely to accrue on the Basque Fund by the end of September next. Up to the present 134 groups have guaranteed £268 toward this deficit, and special donations of nearly £200 were also received. Will other groups able to guarantee £2 send names in to Stuart Morris.

The staff and children at Basque House have been very successful in their own endeavours to meet this deficit. A concert party consisting of eight of the older children and compered by Mr. and Mrs. Theo Wills gave a series of concerts in Manchester arranged by Mrs. Nicklaus, the net proceeds of which amounted to £82. During this month I arranged a series of concerts in Hertfordshire and North London from which over £100 will be credited to the Basque Fund. The party is at present in Nottingham, and we may look to a further reduction of the deficit from that source.

Will other groups who would care to arrange a series of concerts in their districts, get in touch with Theo Wills, at Basque House, Langham.

FRANK B. MIDDLETON,
Hon. Treasurer, PPU Basque Fund.

"Sacked" Nurses not Reinstated

The two probationary nurses who were summarily dismissed from their posts at St. Bartholomew's Hospital Training School last September for declining to be measured for gas masks have not been reinstated, as was reported to us and stated in our May 5 issue, but have been accepted for training at another hospital.

The Conscription Bill Takes Shape

(Continued from page 2)

As Mr. Williams put it, "This would give power, for example, to order a man to undertake coal mining, but not to specify the colliery at which he should work."

This amendment was intended by Socialist members to prevent the tribunals from being "recruiting agents" for local employers.

Period of work : One Year

The obligation on the objector who is given, and accepts, work of national importance is to do such work for one year after registration—not, note, after judgment by the tribunal.

After he has fulfilled this obligation he shall "without condition be finally registered" in the register of conscientious objectors.

Mr. J. MORGAN: "In the event of war breaking out, is the calling up of that individual finally disposed of?"

Mr. LENNOX-BOYD: "So far as this Bill is concerned, I could not go further than that."

Special Appellate Tribunal for Scotland

A Government amendment provided that the appellate tribunal should have two divisions, one of which would sit in Scotland.

Mr. S. O. DAVIES: "Does the omission of Wales

imply that we shall have to take the law into our own hands?"

Evidence on oath, if the Tribunal chooses

Mr. Sorensen had tabled an amendment to make the use of the oath compulsory when evidence was taken by the tribunal, but after discussion he withdrew it.

Mr. Maxton, supporting the previous position—in which the tribunal was allowed discretion as to the use of the oath—hoped that "great care will be taken not to bring the atmosphere of the law courts into the matter, and not to make it appear that a conscientious objector is a criminal who is appearing before judges, instead of a citizen taking a different view on a matter of national importance from that of the majority of citizens."

Travelling and subsistence expenses for witnesses

These will now be paid to witnesses, "where the attendance of witnesses is certified by the tribunal to be necessary." The Minister said the Government had in mind "scales somewhat similar to those under the Unemployment Insurance Acts."

M.P.'s Advice to Young Men

"I SHOULD say to any young man in this country:

"If this Government or any power on earth asks you to do something that you disagree with, develop a conscience as quickly as you can; and let it be a Number One conscience, a hundred percent conscience that you will not do what other people try to dictate to you."

—Mr. W. H. Mainwaring, Labour MP for East Rhondda, during the discussion in the House of Commons on the position of conscientious objectors under the Military Training Bill.

National Association to Fight Unemployment

A NATIONAL Association against Unemployment will be launched at a meeting to be held in Kingsway Hall, London, early next month.

The initiative in this step has been taken by the Poplar and Stepney Association against Unemployment, which will affiliate to the National Association, as will local associations in other parts of the country.

"One of our chief drawbacks to date when dealing with the Government," Mr. W. G. Millman, secretary of the Poplar and Stepney Association, told *Peace News*, "has been that we are only a local association and the Government cannot assist one locality to the exclusion of others. Therefore a National Association, with proper support and with the right leaders, must obviously receive more consideration than a purely local one."

Forthcoming Events

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organizers of events to

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Today (Friday)

KINGSBRIDGE, Devon; 7.30 p.m. The Quay; Publicity Van; PPU.

LEICESTER; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Prebend Street; Rev. T. S. Taylor on "Peace-making"; FoR.

LONDON, W.C.1; 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; George Padmore on "Colonies and the War Danger"; PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1; 8 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square; Youth Rally against Conscription; speakers from various Youth organizations; Youth Section of No Conscription League.

SOUTH BERMONDSEY; 8 p.m. Ilderton Road Baptist Church Institute; presentation of Pacifists on Trial; PPU.

Tomorrow (Saturday)

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE; Brunswick Chapel, Brunswick Place (off Northumberland Street); 3 p.m. Pacifist Convention addressed by James H. Hudson (chairman), George Lansbury, G. H. McGhee, Lewis MacLachlan, Dr. Arthur Rastick and Harold E. Berry; 8 p.m. public meeting: Parliamentary Pacifist Group.

SHEFFIELD; 3 p.m. Educational Settlement, Shipton Street; Sydney P. Larcombe "War Resistance Abroad"; PPU.

NEWTON ABBOT; 7 p.m. Market Square; Publicity Van; R. Burnett, Basil Rodgers, A. Larkworthy, Maurice Hunt, E. C. Maddax and others; PPU.

Sunday, May 21

GLASGOW; 11.15 a.m. Masonic Hall, 100 West Regent Street; Henry A. Barter on "National Service and the Brotherhood of Man"; The Study Circle.

WEST NORWOOD; 3 p.m. Brotherhood Hall, Knight's Hill; Dr. Maude Royden; West Norwood Brotherhood and PPU.

MOTHERWELL; 8 p.m. Lesser Town Hall; Rev. A. C. Craig and Rev. J. D. MacLean on "Conscription and Christianity"; PPU.

GATLEY; 8.15 p.m. Parish Church Schoolroom, Gatley Green; "How to deal with Hitler"; Rev. Stanley Mossop, W. J. Lyon and H. Reed (chairman); PPU.

Monday, May 22

GLOUCESTER; 7.30 p.m. Connaught Rooms, Eastgate Street; Wilfred Wellock, Miss Edith Comber and Rev. J. Alan Kay (chairman) on "The Pacifist Attitude to Conscription and National Service"; PPU.

BIRMINGHAM; 8 p.m. Gravelly Hill Methodist Church; Sydney Conbeer and Rev. W. Walker Lee; PPU.

CHELMSFORD; 8 p.m. Cathedral Hall; R. H. Ward; also play: *The Eleventh Hour*; PPU.

HERNE HILL; 8 p.m. Baptist Church Hall (corner Winterbrook Road); Andrew Stewart; PPU.

READING; 8 p.m. Small Town Hall; Carl Heath, David Spreckley and F. E. Pollard (chairman) on "Conscription"; FoR, PPU, and Society of Friends.

STREATHAM; 8.15 p.m. 260 Streatham High Road; Rev. C. Paul Gliddon on "Why Communists should be Pacifists"; Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.

Tuesday, May 23

LONDON, E.C.4; 12.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; John Barclay on "The Present Position"; City PPU group.

TOWER HILL; 12.30 p.m. Open-air meeting; Miss Sybil Morrison and Andrew Stewart; City PPU group.

CHELSEA; 8 p.m. Sydney Hall, Pond Place; Ben Greene on "Pacifism and Economics"; PPU.

LONDON, N.W.1; 8 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road; Mertens Peace Lecture; Rev. Henry Carter on "Liberty and Authority"; Society of Friends Peace Committee.

WANDSWORTH; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, 59 High Street; meeting of under 25's to discuss Conscription; John Barclay; PPU.

HAMPSTEAD; 8.15 p.m. Lyndale Lecture Centre, 67 Eton Avenue, Swiss Cottage; Roy Walker on "After the Pledge—What?"; PPU.

Wednesday, May 24

SOUTHAMPTON; 8 p.m. Watts Hall, Above Bar; "Pacifists Oppose Conscription"; PPU.

Thursday, May 25

LONDON, E.C.4; 1.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Miss Sybil Morrison on "Women and National Service"; City PPU group.

BIRMINGHAM; 6.30 p.m. Mass demonstration against Conscription; banners and posters; starting from Cambridge Street, proceeding round city centre and concluding with mass public meeting in the Bull Ring; PPU and No Conscription League.

ENFIELD; 8.15 p.m. Methodist Church, Church Street; Sydney Larcombe on "Pacifism's Shock Troops"; PPU.

UPPER TOOTING; 8.15 p.m. Holy Trinity Church Hall; Trinity Road; entertainment by Basque Children; Anglican Pacifist Fellowship and PPU.

NORTH CAMBERWELL; 8.30 p.m. All Saints' Hall, St. Georges Way; J. O. M. O. Kenyatta on "The Colonies and the War for Democracy"; Rev. James Whittle (chairman); PPU.

Friday, May 26

LONDON, W.C.1; 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; George Mansur on "The Arab case in Palestine"; PPU.

Sat. to Mon., May 27 to 29

WESTERHAM; Congregational Church; Peace School on "Internationalism"; Canon Stuart Morris, Gerry Cutcliffe, Rev. Clifford Pickford and Andrew Stewart; FoR, International Friendship League, League of Nations Union and PPU; details from Eric Gusterson, 46 Woodhurst Avenue, Petts Wood, Kent.

Classified Advertisements

1½d. per word, minimum 2s.
Box Number 6d. extra.

Latest Time for Copy Tuesday Morning

ACCOMMODATION

To Let

A QUIET DIVAN ROOM in pacifist household. Excellent for young business man. Opportunity to learn German. £2, breakfast, dinner and week-ends. Phone Bayswater 5194.

FOR SALE

FURNITURE. Good modern designs—lounge suite, oak dining table and four chairs. Wilton carpet, 10ft. 6in. x 10ft. 6in. All as new. Owners going abroad. Further details, 'phone Enterprise 1888.

HEALTH AND MEDICAL

BECOME A NON-SMOKER. Save money you now burn. Improve health you now impair. Wainley Non-Smoking Course. 87, Taggart Avenue, Liverpool, 16.

MEETINGS, &c.

SUMMER SCHOOL at "Hillside," Farncombe, in Surrey Hills, July 22-29. Lectures on Personal and General Psychology by Milton Powell, well-known psychological lecturer and author, also Natural Movement teaching by Miss Grace Guy. Social evenings, excursions, &c. Moderate charge, write for programme.

PERSONAL

GERMAN JEWISH married couple still in Germany desperately need situation together, otherwise man faces concentration camp. Trustworthy, active, capable, willing to do any domestic work. Box 168, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

SITUATIONS

Vacant

WANTED. Domesticated companion-help, aged 25-50, able to speak English. Comfortable and happy home. Wage 15s. weekly. Further particulars, write Box No. 169, *Peace News*, 3, Blackstock Road, N.4.

Wanted

MAN AGED 36, smart appearance, thoroughly adaptable, non-smoker, teetotaler, 15 years driving experience (clean record) desires employment. Do anything, go anywhere. Married (no encumbrance). Vegetarian and nature-curer enthusiast.—Cottrell, 649, Lea Bridge Road, Leyton, E.10.

YOUTH, 18, relinquishing clerkship with armament firm, urgently requires situation with Christian society, firm, &c.—Hill, 141, Hunterhouse Road, Sheffield.

TYPEWRITING

TYPEWRITER RIBBONS. Sea Island Gossamer, Lancashire woven, London impregnated, vacuum-sealed, superfine 4s. quality. 2s. 6d. each; dozen 27s. Standard 3s. fabric, 2s.; dozen, 22s. Postage paid. Mention machine, colours and *Peace News*. Try PPU Olive (Headquarters' special shade), for Group stationery. Lamb Supplies, Adelphi Chambers, Preston.

WHERE TO STAY

COMFORTABLY FURNISHED BUNGALOW in private road near sea. 3 bedrooms, large reception rooms, all modern conveniences. June, 3½ guineas; July-September, 4 guineas; August, 5½ guineas weekly.—Dickinson, Clwyd, Shaftesbury Road, Rustington.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Vegetarian Food Reform Guest House. Alt. 600ft. For happy holiday or restful recuperation. Increased accommodation. Central heating throughout, n. and c. water in all bedrooms. Central for conferences.—A. & K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, near Matlock. Telephone Ambergate 14. Station, Ambergate (L.M.S.).

KINGSTON, EDINBURGH. The Fountainhead of Modern Nature Cure (Health Home and Training Centre). Under the personal supervision of James C. Thomson. Particulars from the Secretary, Kingston, Edinburgh. 9.

LLANFAIR TALHAIRN, near Abergele, in peaceful Elwy Valley. Glasfryn. Guesthouse. Liberal tables. Vi-Spring beds. Also furnished bungalow to let. Two bedrooms. Large living room. Service mains. Apply Mrs. Rodwell.

PAYING GUESTS, temporary or permanent, welcome in private house within ten minutes (by bus) of the sea. Good food, constant hot water, every comfort of well-appointed home. Mrs. M. I. Roberts, Kodai, Greencourt Drive, Bognor Regis. Telephone: 882 Bognor Regis.

PRIVETT COTTAGE, Cowbeech, Hailsham. Country walks, cycling, garden, tennis available. Bus passes door. From 30s. Warner.

RURAL Devon. Quiet, restful holiday. Paying guests received. Comfortable modern cottage.—Vivian, Chittlehampton, Umberleigh, N. Devon.

WYE VALLEY. Guest house and craft industry. Guests and students. Vegetarian diet. Barn House, Brockweir, Chepstow, Mon.

"Too Young To Be Shot"

"It is nonsense to say people are too old to be shot, but they may easily be too young."

"That is what we feel when a lot of elderly men and women impose compulsory service on boys."

So said 86-year-old General Sir Ian Hamilton, in an address to South African War veterans on Sunday.

He also told the veterans that only the ex-Service men had "really and practically done their bit" by trying to keep friends with the German rank and file.

HOW EACH ONE OF US CAN WORK FOR PEACE

(continued from page 1)

vice entails any and every activity compatible with peace."

It is therefore "concerned only with those individual activities which more directly affect the promotion of peace by creating a better understanding and mode of behaviour between peoples and nations."

Opportunities for All

Even so, it is comprehensive enough to cater for people with the most varied talents. There is a guide to the study of subjects which will help to create an informed public opinion concerning the present international situation.

Another section deals with propaganda, so that the citizen who is working for peace can help to persuade others to take up similar service.

"Social Service" is the title of a section showing how you can help the refugees, and the unemployed or join in the work of the Pacifist Service Corps (whose members train and equip for emergencies which arise in peace and war) or the Peace Army (which sends "soldiers of peace" to strife-ridden places such as Palestine).

Practical ways of cultivating international friendships are also given, as well as information about communal living and about the various forms of peace service within the Churches. Other sections deal with cultural activities, peace service in war-time, and suggestions are made concerning a Peace Service Tax.

In all cases the relevant addresses are given, and a useful book list appears at the end of the Handbook.

Get your copy from the Peace Pledge Union, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1—and sign on for peace without delay!

Colonial Workers' Empire Day Plans

THE British Centre Against Imperialism has decided to undertake certain activity in relation to Empire Day, Wednesday (May 24). A rally will be held in the evening in Hyde Park, and during the day a series of delegations to the Colonial Office will be organized which it is hoped will be able to report back to the evening meeting.

It is proposed to send delegations representing the West Indies, India, Ceylon, Africa, British Centre, and I.L.P. Each delegation will compile an ultimatum for presentation on behalf of the various sections.

A meeting will be held at the Centre on Tuesday evening at 8 p.m., when final arrangements will be made for the delegations and the rally.

Leaflets advertising the rally are obtainable from Mr. Arthur Ballard, British Centre Against Imperialism, 35 St. Bride Street, London, E.C.4.

BRITISH PEOPLES' PARTY. Campaign Against War and Usury.

CONWAY HALL
Red Lion Square

on

Tuesday, May 23rd, at 8 p.m.
(Doors open 7.30 p.m.)

MARQUIS OF TAVISTOCK
JOHN BECKETT
Dr. ROBERT FORGAN, M.C.
BEN GREENE, J.P.

Admission by Ticket only.

6d. and 1/- from 103, Chandos House,
Palmer Street, Victoria Street, or
T. J. Faithfull, 33, New Cavendish St.

A Pacifist Commentary

Lesson of the Military Training Bill :: Fitness Campaign :: Our "Unselfish" Aims

ONE important fact stands out of the piece of restrictive legislation known as the Military Training Bill: the conscientious objector has been recognized, and the pacifist viewpoint ventilated.

For the moment, at any rate, the Government has given far more consideration to the difficulties of holding a minority opinion within an almost authoritarian State than many of us anticipated they would do.

Yet pacifists must appreciate that the Bill does not legalize their activities, and there are all sorts of ways of bringing them to book should any government deem it advisable. The Official Secrets Act is still on the Statute Book, and propaganda may always be considered as seditious, if contrary to the interest of the State.

So we must not be tempted into any false sense of security and the necessity for courage and deep conviction is essential today as ever it was, if our cause is to succeed.

Strike-Breaking

MR. HORE-BELISHA has promised that each conscript will be given "a written statement that any liabilities he might be presumed to be under to aid the civil powers would not be enforced in his case." This was intended to allay Opposition fears that conscripts might be used for strike-breaking or similar activities.

It is important to note that the statement would seem concerned only with calling troops out to force strikers back to work. But this is not the only way of breaking a strike, as experience during the War showed.

What is just as likely to happen is that strikers themselves would be called to the colours and then obliged, under military orders, to continue their normal work.

As, however, the Labour movement supports rearmament, and does not intend to provide any real opposition to conscription, it is hardly in a position to complain if the new measure should be used in the manner suggested.

Regimenting the Young

A NEW law in Rumania makes boys between seven and eighteen, and girls between seven and twenty-one, liable for national service—in industry, agriculture, State institutions, or ARP.

Such things can't happen, here, you may think. But don't be too sure; we thought that of conscription at one time.

A headmaster recently pleaded in *The Times* for more opportunities for youth to serve the community. The principle may be good, but when it is already being so widely misapplied one becomes suspicious of pleas for its extension.

On Tuesday the chief leading article in the same newspaper exploited a similar theme—that of making youth fit. "Fit for what?"—why, fit "for the good life"!

Another excellent principle; but what seemed to be the ulterior motive was revealed in another article on the same subject, to which the leader drew attention. "A time like the present," wrote the author of this article, "is the right time to examine carefully the educational system which has produced the young men destined to come in the next few months before the medical examiners for the Militia."

It would be just too bad if the young men were not fit "for the good life" in the Army!

Britain's Aims

THREE European statesmen have made important pronouncements during the past week or so.

The first was Mr. Chamberlain, who declared at a meeting in the Albert Hall, London, last Thursday, that, "convinced of the rightness and the unselfishness of our aims, we are as ready as ever to listen to the views of others, but determined not to submit to dictation."

This, of course, is the recognized theme of Government pronouncements in these days. But it is becoming more and more obvious that other nations remain singularly unconvinced of the rightness and

unselfishness of our aims. The more outspoken Tory back-benchers now speak unashamedly of our chief object as being the defence of our empire—hardly an entirely unselfish aim.

"National Unity"

THE speech was not, however, remarkable as containing any indication of a change in foreign policy. What was significant was the statement that "there is fundamental union on the principles of the policy which we are following."

Now that is patently untrue. If there is fundamental union on conscription, for instance, why the provisions for conscientious objectors in the Military Training Bill?

And why the "pathetic letters" which Mr. Chamberlain admitted having received "from mothers, some of them War widows, who have asked how it is that their only son is to be taken from them"?

And what of the widespread opposition to conscription being reported week by week in *Peace News*?

Mr. Chamberlain's statement was but symptomatic of the tendency to cry "national unity" where there is no "national unity" in the effort to create it by the mere repetition of the words.

Words—and Deeds

THE same cry was raised by M. Daladier, the French Premier, in a speech delivered on the same day as Mr. Chamberlain's. He went on to make a really good statement of the case against war:

"France," he said, "knows no hate; she feels a sincere sympathy for all peoples. She knows, too, by long experience that war would solve none of the present problems, that it would, on the contrary, rather make their solution more difficult and more ruinous."

"She feels that, in a world of which the natural resources have been increased tenfold by the inventions of science, each nation could easily receive its share of well-being, prosperity, and liberty."

Excellent! But M. Daladier had been boasting only a few minutes before that "France is a vast workshop where millions of men are working without pause or respite to ensure national defence." The words "national defence," remember, are but a polite way of talking about war.

Mr. Chamberlain, we are assured by *The Times*, is our "national leader"; M. Daladier is now virtually dictator of France; on Sunday a third "national leader" spoke—this time Signor Mussolini.

His utterance was remarkable for what it did not contain as well as for what it did.

He did not, as had been expected, formulate his claims upon France.

One thing he did say has already received considerable publicity in Britain; that "there are not in Europe at present problems so big and so active as to justify a war, which from a European conflict would naturally become universal. There are knotty problems in European politics but there is no need to refer to the sword to undo them."

This may have been a hint to the senior partner in the Axis not to be too precipitate concerning Danzig; and may confirm the suggestion that negotiations with France have already begun.

THE chief event on the European scene, apart from these speeches, has been the decision of the British and Turkish Governments to conclude a "definite and long-term agreement of a reciprocal character in the interests of their national security," announced by the Premier in Parliament on Friday.

There are still doubts as to how far this agreement is likely to involve this country, as the full terms have not been published, but it is chiefly aimed at the maintenance of the status quo in the Mediterranean and to stay the Axis Powers' penetration in the Balkans toward the Near East.

No doubt from a purely military consideration this must all be viewed as of the utmost strategic importance, because it opens the Black Sea and joins the Russian fleet with our own in the event of emergency; as France will probably enter into a similar undertaking in the near future, the diplomats of the countries concerned must be very jubilant.

The German charge of encirclement, in spite of our own Government's refutations, looks well founded, and all these rival military alliances may well accelerate what they are supposed to retard—war. The Straits, the Mediterranean, &c., would be more likely to remove the causes of friction if placed under the control of an international commission similar to the Panama Canal.

Better than Guns

THE President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Oliver Stanley, has announced that the British Trade Mission to Rumania has just concluded a Protocol under which this country will provide credit facilities to the amount of £5,000,000.

The British Government will purchase 200,000 tons of Rumanian wheat from the next harvest, if available (as it should be) at world prices and other measures include provision for the promotion of trade through normal commercial channels.

Yes, wheat (and butter) is far better than guns! Only by such reciprocal arrangements will nations of the world reach a better understanding. The vast financial resources of this country would be far better utilized on schemes of this character than on building up large armaments which add to the dangers of the future rather than in helping to remove them.

This commentary, in common with other contributions appearing in "Peace News," must not be assumed necessarily to represent the views of the Peace Pledge Union.

Central London Mock Tribunals

The series of mock tribunals which are being arranged by the Central London Region of the Peace Pledge Union will be held on Saturday, June 3, and not May 22, as reported last week.

Closing Date for Competition

The competition for *Peace News* readers announced in our issue of May 5 will be closed on Tuesday next, May 23.

No entries received later than the first post on that date will be considered.

Published from Editorial and Publishing Offices, 3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4, by "Peace News," Ltd. (Registered Office, 6, Endsleigh Street, London W.C.1), and printed for them by The Walthamstow Press, Ltd. (T.U.), Guardian House, Forest Road, London, E.17.

ASK YOUR NEWSAGENT TO
DELIVER "PEACE NEWS"
EVERY WEEK

STOP PRESS